Marxism Today

August 1987 95p

Marge Piercy Interview

Italy's Communists

Labour's Left

The IRA

Edinburgh Guide

David Edgar and Richard Eyre

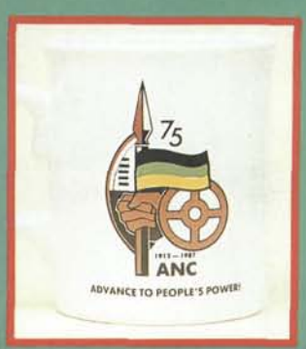
Child Abuse

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

● 75th Anniversary **Watch.** Swiss made Quartz watch with a 1 year manufacturer guarantee.

● 75th Anniversary **Enamel Badges.** Actual size: 25mm deep and 18mm wide.

● ANC 75th Anniversary **T-shirts.** Also available in black.
ANC **Women's Section T-shirt.**



● 75th Anniversary **Coffee Mugs.**

Send order with payment to the African National Congress, PO Box 38, London N1 9PR. Cheques to be made payable to the 'ANC'.

☐ ANC Logo T-shirt £5.25: Black S☐, M☐, L☐, XL☐ White S☐, M☐, L☐, XL☐

☐ ANC Women's T-shirt: £5 White S☐, M☐, L☐, XL☐

☐ Mug £2.75 ☐ Watch £25 ☐ Badge £2.20

Name

Address

Total £ _____

All prices include P&P. We will try to effect delivery within 28 days.

MT 1

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS

Theoretical and discussion journal of the Communist Party

Editorial Office
16 St John Street, London EC1M 4AY
Telephone 01 608 0265
Editor
Martin Jacques
Deputy Editor
Sally Townsend
Production Editor
Richard Johnson
Focus
Jane Taylor
Letters
Maria Loftus
Channel 5
Sally Townsend
Channel 5 Choice
Martin Pople, Diane Dixon
Books
Mark Perryman, Mary Braithwaite
Closeup
Paul Webster
Update Supplement
Joanna Coakley
Business
Jane Critchley
Advertising Manager
Malcolm Clark
Display Advertising
Lavinia Kennett
Patricia Dobson
Circulation Manager
Mark Perryman
Design
Jan Brown
Cover
Design by Keith Ablitt
Illustration by Clifford Harper

Editorial Board
Jon Bloomfield, Ros Brunt, Beatrix Campbell, Cynthia Cockburn, Tricia Davis, David Edgar, Hywel Francis, Katy Gardner, Stuart Hall, Steve Hart, Jacky Heywood, Eric Hobsbawm, Alan Hunt, Monty Johnstone, Paula Lanning, Betty Matthews, Bert Pearce, Mark Perryman, Dave Priscott, Bob Rowthorn, Vishnu Sharma, Fred Steward, Willy Thompson.

Distribution
Newstrade
Magnum Distribution Ltd, 22-26 Farringdon Lane, London EC1R 3AU
Bookshops
Central Books Ltd, 14 The Leathermarket London SE1 3ER
Subscriptions
Magnum Subscriptions Division, Unit 8, Grove Ash, Bletchley, Milton Keynes MK1 1BZ. Tel: 0908 71981
Subscription Rates
for one year
Inland
individuals £11.40, institutions £16, students one-year introductory rate £7.50, supporting subscribers £25.
Overseas airspeeded
individuals £20, institutions £26, supporting subscribers £34.

Contributions
The editor welcomes contributions and letters for publication in the journal. Further details if required from the editorial office. Please send SAE if you want an acknowledgement or manuscript returned. The views expressed by authors are personal and not necessarily those of the editor or editorial board.

Typeset
Type Generation Ltd
Printed
Birmingham Printers, Birmingham.

ABC
Member of the Audit Bureau of Circulations

Published by the Communist Party
16 St John Street, London EC1M 4AY
©World Copyright August 1987
Marxism Today
ISBN 0026-4118
Volume 31 Number 8

FOCUS

2
Alliance Asunder
Malcolm Rutherford looks at the personalities and politics of the split within the Alliance

3
Democrats' White Hopes: After Hart's demise,

there seems to be only one Democratic alternative

5
An Ear For Quality: Eric Hobsbawm's obituary to John Hammond, the most radical talent spotter in the history of jazz

Fight, Fight and Fight Again: The NUM is assessing its position as a result of the recent conference

7
To Fund Or Not To Fund
The steady erosion of the grant base of the Royal

Shakespeare Company continues despite the company's success on Broadway

LETTERS

9
Popular socialism, voting patterns, the Greek Left, Soviet initiatives, cycling feedback

FEATURES

10
Abuse Of Trust

After Cleveland, the sexual abuse of children must never again be just a family affair, argue **Esther Saraga** and **Mary MacLeod**

14
Ostpolitik Reborn
Eric Hobsbawm in conversation with prominent SPD thinker **Peter Glotz**

20
Italy's Fading Dream
The decline of the PCI in recent years suggests that the third way is no longer possible. **Donald Sassoon** argues that the European Left is suffering from many of the same symptoms

24
A Hole In Labour's Heart
Labour's election campaign was widely praised, but **Robin Cook** argues that another term of Thatcherism will necessitate further changes in presentation and a serious rethink of Labour's priorities

26
Women At War
Marge Piercy discusses feminism, the second world war and her new novel with **Maria Lauret** and **Cora Kaplan**

CHANNEL 5

29
Edinburgh Festival: A guide to one of the most important events in the cultural calendar

30
Fringe: Fact and fiction

31
Edinburgh: Politics of the Festival

32
Playwright **David Edgar** talks to **Richard Eyre,** the new director of the National Theatre

36
The who, what, when, where

and why guide to the Edinburgh Festival

39
Talent Spotting: The famous feet that once trod the Festival's boards

BOOKS

40
H-Block, the IRA and the Hunger Strike; **Isabel Hilton** on the new South American novel by Isabel Allende

UPDATE

42
South Africa diary

CLOSE-UP

48
Bob Woffinden on **Rupert Murdoch**

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Spitting Image

The two Davids: Neither has done much to check the subsequent civil war, the outcome of which remains uncertain

Alliance Asunder

The most surprising development in the immediate aftermath of the British general election of 1987 has been the turmoil within the SDP-Liberal Alliance, and especially within the SDP. Do not believe anyone who says otherwise, that it was all preordained and bound to happen. Although the seeds of the disputes were always there, there was no inevitability about their coming to a head in July and August and the outcome of an unpredicted event is itself unpredictable.

The Alliance did not fare anything like as well as it had hoped in the election. It won around 23% of the vote, a couple of percentage points down on 1983, and it made no net gain in parliamentary seats. The dream of a hung parliament, in which the Alliance would hold the balance, did not come off.

From the Alliance standpoint, all that was disappointing. Looked at more objectively, however, the result was not too bad. It was probably better than the Liberals would have done on their own.

In any other country in Europe, a third force would have been ecstatic to have come anywhere near it.

Besides, the Labour Party did none too well either. If the election was really about the battle for second place, Labour won decisively in terms of seats, as it was bound to do unless the Alliance made a quite unexpected breakthrough. But Labour made a net gain of only 20 seats and was just seven percentage points ahead of the Alliance in the share of the vote. An entirely rational reaction on the part of the Alliance would have been to have said that the battle for second place was still very much on for next time. Labour, after all, has lost three general elections in a row and the Alliance is still young.

Instead, the Alliance turned on itself. There were mistakes during the campaign which help to explain what happened. The Alliance probably should have concentrated more of its fire on Labour if it was to have much hope of winning voters from the Tories. It was a demonstrable error to go for a hung parliament rather than simply to maximise Alliance support: opinion polls showed that the idea of a parliament without a majority was distinctly unpopular. And the two Davids got in each other's way, even when not meaning to. There was scarcely a night on tv when they did not end up seeking to clarify each other's remarks.

Still, all that could have been regarded as part of the learning process over the long haul. At the end of the campaign, the Alliance was no more visibly divided than either the Labour or the Conservative Party. Yet that is not how its leaders have chosen to see it. Personalities played a part. If David Owen and David Steel had really wanted to get on better together, they could have done so both before and after the election. Roy Jenkins, Shirley Williams and William Rodgers were all founder members of the SDP along with Owen. They were also defeated candidates, while Owen continued to hold his parliamentary seat. He re-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

garded his former colleagues as has-beens and wets. They thought of him as a usurper betraying the original ideals of the Alliance.

The personal bitterness runs very deep. However, it alone cannot explain the split. Some of it is due to policy and, more generally, to a difference in political approach. For example, Owen believes that Britain must continue to be a nuclear power, at least until international arms control agreements render such a posture unnecessary. Jenkins *et al* were prepared to be less specific about nuclear weapons in the interests of keeping the partnership with the Liberals in being. The divisions within the Alliance over defence policy last year elucidate a lot of what has happened since. There was no clearer demonstration than Sir Robin Day's interview with the two Davids on *Panorama* during the campaign. Owen said that he could not support a coalition with Labour because of its defence policy. Steel declined to go along with him.

Defence apart, the impression was left throughout the campaign – and after – that Owen prefers Mrs Thatcher's Tories while Steel and the bulk of Liberal activists are closer to Labour. Neither David has done much to check the subsequent civil war, the outcome of which remains uncertain.

The interesting question is whether there is much of a place for a third force in British politics, beyond by-elections and local government. The Alliance election manifesto looked like a composite of Labour and Tory policies with constitutional reform – its one really distinctive contribution – thrown in.

Steel and Jenkins could just about establish a new Liberal Democratic Party capable of winning a quarter to a fifth of the vote, but with Owen outside, yet still a voice in parliament, it looks like fragmentation. Perhaps what we have is a two and a bit party system, which presently favours the Tories. ●

Malcolm Rutherford

Democrats' White Hopes

Having written Gary Hart's political obituary with gusto, the American mass media have been extraordinarily reluctant to admit its corollary – that the Rev Jesse Jackson has become the front runner in the race for the US Democratic nomination. Now that the Rainbow Coalition is no longer an exotic curiosity but a formidable alternative, its press coverage has proportionately decreased. Leading the field in all the opinion polls, Jackson is disparaged as a 'spoiler' or quixotic 'idealist', while tortured arguments advance the chances of obscure figures like Senator Paul Simon (Illinois).

The official 'white hopes' of this racist Democratic subdiscourse represent a tiny, compressed band of political difference amongst themselves. Highest in popularity behind Jackson is Governor Michael Dukakis (Massachusetts), whose well-financed campaign has rescued many of the shipwrecked crew of Gary Hart. The disingenuous strategy of the Dukakis camp is the promotion of the governor as the messiah who led the high-tech gentrification of the once rusty Massachusetts economy: a credit more properly due to the billions of dollars of military spending which Reagan has pumped into the state. Dukakis's more modest but original achievement is a pioneering 'workfare' programme, admired by many Thatcherites in the UK, which has forced 20,000 welfare mothers into low-wage service jobs.

In a variation on the same theme, the ex-governor of Arizona, Bruce Babbitt – campaigning without stop for the past two years – boasts of his helmsmanship of a conservative sunbelt state. Certainly what Arizona labour will never forget about Babbitt was his 1983 mobilisation of the national guard in their armoured personnel carriers to break a two-year-old copper strike. Senator Joseph Biden (Delaware), winner of the perennial JFK clone contest, also appeals to the baby-boom mainstream with 'make my day' toughness: opposing school bussing and a federal funding of abortions for poor women, supporting freezes in social spending and 'legitimate' US intervention in Latin America.

Rep Richard Gephardt (Missouri), one of the leaders of the House Democrats, has long been the Mephistopheles of Democratic realignment. In 1984 he was instrumental in establishing the centre-right Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) as a parallel power-structure to the Democratic national committee with the stated aim of 'returning' the party to the 'white, male middle class'. Faced with so many mirror images of himself, however, Gephardt is trying to differentiate his candidacy by advocating a protectionist trade policy – a stance that endears him to union leaders like the AFL-CIO's Secretary, Lane Kirkland. Meanwhile, Senator Sam Nunn (Georgia) coquettishly signals his availability from the sidelines. The chair of the powerful armed services committee and another founder of the DLC, Nunn is the relentless advocate of streamlined Atlanticism; after Reykjavik, he led the attack on Reagan for 'weakening Nato'.

Finally, much mystery continues to surround the reasons for the sudden collapse of the Mario Cuomo boom earlier this year: it is unclear whether there are skeletons in the family closet (*à la* Ferraro), or simply a famine of policies beyond the eloquent platitudes. Cuomo has been like the great sphinx in his silence on foreign policy, especially US intevention in Central America. Unlike Lee Iaccocca

City Syndication

Jackson: the only real opposition to Reagan

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ciao!

Dear Rosa, there we were stuck in mid-August and no holiday in prospect, when Vlad comes up with the bright idea of a cappuccino in Saint Mark's. Venice not Southwark.

He suggested the week of the Venice Film Festival. Typical of Vlad to know the date. Fancies himself in a Fellini re-make. The Regatta is the same time. Even if the weather improves in Britain it's going to be too little too late. Wouldn't you rather be basking in Mediterranean sunshine?

We booked into the Hotel Lio Grande (4-star of course) overlooking the lagoon with its own swimming pool.

It all started with a phone-call to Alexandra, who had phoned to suggest we fly with her to Bologna. Trust her to choose the home of good Italian food!

She wants to visit 'Unita'. You know the big Left festival. Last year they had everyone from Style Council to George McGovern. They also had three million visitors. No, not all at the one time.

Alexandra has organised the week with Rhino Tours (strange name; sounds suspiciously like a Marxism Today marketing ploy). Quo Vadis are the experts behind the scenes. Yes, its ABTA, etc. Alexandra booked us into the Hotel Re Enzo (3-star) in a really quiet area of the city. She's also managed to get us our own guides and a reception with the Mayor.

It's nice to have the option of like-minded company. And Vlad is brushing up on his Gramsci. But we'll also be popping off on our own to see the sights. They call Bologna the Oxford of Italy. Is that a compliment?

The dates are Saturday 29th August to Sunday 6th September.

We fly out from Luton and fly back from Venice.

It costs **£380** inclusive, with hotels.

£195 camping (yes, the sites are recommended).

As Alex says, it costs more than a bucket-shop holiday, but then it's **not** a bucket-shop holiday.

So anyway, Rosa why not phone 01-608 0265 or send away on the form below.

Love Emma.

Rhino Holidays

Return to: **'Rhino (MT) Holidays', 16 St John Street, London EC1M 4AY.**

☐ Send me more details.

☐ I enclose deposit for ____ places (deposit £50 per person).

Name

Address

Access/Visa accepted

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

('Who wants to be president during a depression?'), the governor of New York has not given the definitive reason for his withdrawal and may be awaiting the mutual ruin of the other contenders to open a walk-on nomination next June.

At any event, all seven white hopes – as well as the most frequently mentioned long shots (including Dale Bumpers of Arkansas and Albert Gore Jnr of Kentucky) – offer policies that can be easily rounded off into relative indistinction. Their common, underlying premise is that Reaganism will leave certain enduring legacies that must be accommodated: a right wing federal judiciary, a continuing federal deficit, a quasi-legal ceiling on social spending (the Gramm-Rudman Act), and a series of mega-weapons programme. The supply-side panaceas of 'neo-liberalism' which Gary Hart invoked in 1984 have been scaled down to 'pragmatic liberalism', or, as some DLCers like to call it, 'the pursuit of liberal ends by conservative means'.

In contrast, the Rainbow Coalition remains the only national voice in the United States calling for the roll back, not merely the domestication, of Reaganism. What panics the Democratic establishment is that the synchronised March primaries – explicitly organised by the DLC to stop Jackson and ensure the nomination of a white Southerner – may backfire in Jackson's favour as blacks vote in unprecedented numbers. Moreover, this time round, the Jackson campaign enjoys the virtually unanimous support of the Left (split over Mondale in 1984) and black leaders, and broad endorsements from union branches and farm groups – constituencies whose interests Jackson has tirelessly advocated over the past three years. In a period when many Democrats are more eager to get Ollie North's autograph than throw him into jail the real opposition to Reaganism will find itself in the Rainbow Coalition. ●

Mike Davis

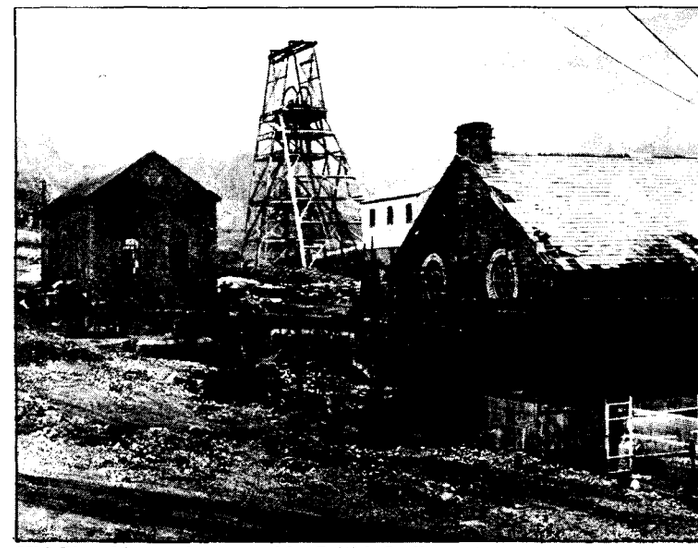
An Ear For Quality

John Hammond, who did more for jazz than any non-player, and also launched both Bob Dylan and Bruce Springsteen, will get plenty of appreciation in the music press. He died on July 10. But he would also have liked to be remembered in a journal like *Marxism Today* as a lifelong champion of black people in the USA from the days of the 'Scottsbro' Boys' in 1931, and a lifelong man of the Left. This maverick Vanderbilt with a permanent crew-cut, who looked like someone out of a 1920s Hollywood college movie, never joined the Communist Party, but never disclaimed his sympathies.

He was the most extraordinary talent-scout and talent developer in the history of jazz. Except for Armstrong and Ellington, there is practically no jazz or blues artist of the 1930s who does not owe something or, like Billie Holliday, Count Basie, Charlie Christian and the Boogie Woogie piano players, everything, to this millionaire radical who dropped out of Yale to fight for blacks politically and musically. His *Spirituals to Swing* concert at Carnegie Hall (sponsored by the Communist *New Masses*) was a landmark in the acceptance of black music. Through the *Café Society* venues (run by Barney Josephson, another red later driven out of business by the witch-hunt), he gave unknown talent a showcase. Through Benny Goodman, who became his brother-in-law, he established racially mixed groups in public.

The last time I saw him, felled and hollowed out by the last of several strokes, he was slowly dying. After the death of his wife Esme and of Benny Goodman in 1986, he felt alone. 'Benny and I were close', he said. I asked him which of his many achievements he was most proud of. 'Billie' he said. 'The others, I did a lot for some, but most could have made it on their own. But Billie was the sort of girl who could have disappeared down some crack and been lost forever.' I expect he was right. ●

Eric Hobsbawm



Val Wilmer/Format

Mid-Rhondda: testing ground for British Coal's strategy

NUM: Fight, Fight And Fight Again?

Following on the recent National Union of Mineworkers' annual conference at Rothesay in Scotland, the union leadership and the membership are faced with some very hard and unpleasant options. Parallels were inevitably being drawn with the special conference which ended the 1984/85 strike. Des Dutfield, the South Wales President, put it in a nutshell when he reminded the delegates that there would no longer be a national union had that courageous decision not been taken on March 3, 1985.

The most contentious issue now facing the NUM is the pervasive and rapid introduction of the 'Wheeler Plan', which quite simply argues that in the atmosphere of increasing international competition and greater capital investment, the industry will have to use its installed capacity more fully and more effectively to reduce costs. The objective is to reduce further manpower and increase the number of hours and days that coal is produced.

The NUM's response has been slow, understandable, predictable. Conference called for the rejection of the 'Wheeler Plan'. How this is to be carried out is difficult to envisage given that it has been introduced in different ways, in *all* coalfields, with heavy-duty faces, continuous coal-winding, quietly negotiated variations in wage payments and, rumour has it, changes already in shift patterns. The storm over the Margam Mine six-day coaling has served only to obscure the wider and more important changes already happening.

British Coal's strategy now appears to be to switch from proposing changing work patterns in future pits to attempting to change them in existing pits – or impose closure.

It is interesting to note that in the Soviet coal industry, substantial changes have recently been made with the introduction of flexible working. There are now 360 days of production (compared with 250 days previously). Output has increased from 718m tons (1985) to 742.8m tons (1986). There are four working shifts, six hours each, and 10 days of leisure every month. All this has been achieved with full consultation and approval of the Soviet Miners' Union. Changes are therefore occurring world-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Two weeks of music that contribute to Birtwistle's creative thinking and which influenced his direction as a composer.

Featuring
- **NATIONAL THEATRE STUDIO**
- **AQUARIUS**
- **LONDON SINFONIETTA**
- **ARDITTI STRING QUARTET**
- **ENDYMION ENSEMBLE**
- **ROGER NORRINGTON**

Plus many more
Music by
- **BIRTWISTLE • BERIO**
- **STOCKHAUSEN • STRAVINSKY**
- **DEBUSSY • MACHAUT • NONO**

and others

THE SOUTH BANK BOARD PRESENT

Summerscope

HARRISON BIRTWISTLE

His fancies His toys His dreams...

Seats £3.00 – £10.00
25 August – 6 September
QUEEN ELIZABETH HALL
& PURCELL ROOM
London SE1 8XX
B.O. 01-928 3191 C.C. 01-928 8800
Summerscope Brochure 01-921 0893

THE SOUTH BANK CENTRE

ONE ADMIT ON BIRMINGHAM Film & Television Festival '86

Birmingham Film and Television Festival

October 16th to October 31st

A festival fortnight of new releases

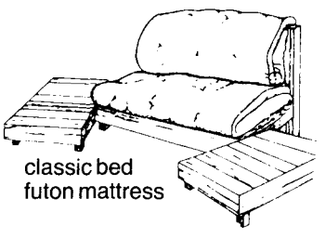
Special events:
- **Third World Cinema Weekend**
- **The ACTT Workshop Declaration: 5 years on**
- **Cities and City cultures**
- **Children's season**
- **The future of television production in the Midlands**

Information and festival membership: **Film and Television Festival Office, Midlands Arts Centre, Cannon Hill Park, Birmingham B12 9QH.**
Tel 021 440 2543 / 4221

ONE ADMIT ON BIRMINGHAM

FREE BASE

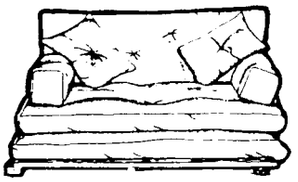
·FUTON·
FURNISHING



classic bed
futon mattress

Lincoln Road, East Finchley, London N2. 01-444 7249

GENUINE HIGH QUALITY FUTONS
LOWEST PRICES IN LONDON



6 layer futons from £70.00
A choice of offers with every 2/3 layer futon

Friendly helpful staff
Visit our showroom
Open 7 days a week

Futon mattress and simple free convertible wooden base

COLOURFUL SOFAS BY DAY
COMFORTABLE BEDS BY NIGHT

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wide: some sensible, with goodwill on all sides, others as in Britain in an atmosphere of bitterness and disunity.

The great fear throughout the NUM is that unless it moves quickly and gets into a position of negotiation, especially over new technology, the union will be bypassed and revolutionary changes in work practices will be imposed. It has already happened with wage settlements and a draconian code of conduct and disciplinary procedures. The latter strikes at the very heart of trade union rights and civil liberties. The decision to call for industrial action against the code indicates the seriousness of the issue.

All this of course begs the question which was studiously avoided at Rothesay. The question is *unity*, raised quietly but persistently by

City Syndication

Scargill: warning over Margam

the now retired national vice-president of the NUM, Michael McGahey – hopefully not the last of a long line of intellectuals in the NUM leadership.

As wages and conditions are imposed, how long will members remain loyal to this 'great union'? It became 'great' because it was *effective* in defending its members and that effectiveness was achieved through hard-won unity. All of this is now compounded by the return of a Conservative government pledged to further privatisation, especially of the electricity supply industry, and giving dark hints (via the Centre for Policy Studies) of hiving off even the coal industry. Add to this the whirlwind of flexible working throughout the British economy and it all points to the NUM's growing impotence and isolation. A statement by National President Arthur Scargill about Wapping being a picnic by comparison if the UDM tried to organise Margam, sent a chill down the spine of many a miner and further indicated the bankruptcy of current nihilistic thinking.

There were plenty of such brave words on all kinds of issues at Rothesay, but no one was prepared to grasp the nettle of disunity with the breakaway Union of Democratic Mineworkers. The rhetoric of 1984-85 continues to prevent clear thinking. A willingness to adopt Lenin's dictum 'Maneouvre, temporise, compromise' (*Left Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, 1920 p58) for the sake of rebuilding unity in the service of the members and their communities would not go amiss.

Privatisation, imposed work practices, imposed wages and disciplinary procedures: these are the very issues around which unity can be built. Will the new NUM leadership rise to the occasion, draw the union and the industry back from the brink and provide a credible alternative strategy embracing all other energy workers and the wider community? Terry Thomas, a South Wales delegate, in the course of the so-called 'Margam' debate on the five-day week, pointedly remarked that the leadership had provided plenty of questions but precious few answers to the complex and growing problems now facing the union.

He may have been reflecting on the seemingly bland yet deeply profound slogan on the old Seven Sisters NUM lodge banner: 'Policy, Leadership, Unity'. And the ghosts of Cook, Horner and Paynter at Rothesay will have been whispering: 'And the greatest in that trinity is Unity. What is to be done *now*?' ●

Hywel Francis

***The Balcony* scene: wherefore arts now?**

To Fund Or Not To Fund

On July 8, 1987 the Minister for the Arts delivered a speech to the Conference of Regional Arts Associations. It began: 'The first and most important thing is for the arts world to accept the economic and political climate in which we operate. The objective of this government is to reduce the role of the state and expand the scope for private initiative, choice and enterprise.'

This endorsement of government policy offered no encouragement to the Royal Shakespeare Company, which has accepted these economic realities ever since a government-commissioned scrutiny of its activities in 1983, following a decade of recurring financial crisis.

The RSC initiated a self-help policy designed to produce for the company additional revenue to make up what was being eroded from its Arts Council funding. Out of this came *Les Miserables*, *Kiss Me Kate*, a US tour of *Nicholas Nickleby*, and transfers to the West End (and sometimes Broadway) of *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*, *Camille*, *Waste* and *Breaking the Silence*. The RSC also stepped up its efforts in sponsorship, television and video, and was awarded (in 1986) the Queen's Award for Export Achievement for its work overseas.

In 1986-87, the RSC raised a staggering £900,000 from these sources – which met a mere 5.8% of its costs. Meanwhile, the steady erosion of its grant base continues. It has been given no increase in its Arts Council grant for the year ahead, and faces its worst financial crisis ever: a £1.1 million deficit stemming from a bad year in 1986-87 at the Barbican, and a projected further deficit of £635,000 this year, with no immediate prospect of solving this.

All the box office hits – and the immense diversion of time and energy taken to produce them – have created no improved financial stability for the RSC. They have however created circumstances which endanger the company's central artistic activities, for which its subsidy was always intended. As RSC chairman Geoffrey Cas said in last year's annual report: 'The demands of those external activities dilute our concentration on those very central activities which are the raison d'être for subsidy, and the essential source of our artistic strength.'

This is a dilemma which appears not to be understood at all by those responsible for the funding of the RSC and other organisations like it. ●

Genista McIntosh

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This advertisement has been produced and paid for by supporters of the African National Congress. Formed in 1912, the ANC stands for a new South Africa, a South Africa where racism will be a thing of the past and where human dignity and equality will prevail in the life of the country and its people.

THE INJUSTICE OF APARTHEID WHAT CAN YOU DO?

"Apartheid denies to the majority black population their most elementary human rights. Apartheid makes South Africa the only society in the world which discriminates in all its laws on the basis of race. Blacks are denied all political, economic and basic human rights. They are not allowed to vote. They cannot live where they choose. They are denied the enjoyment of family life.

In South Africa today, people – both black and white – are in open revolt against apartheid. Their courageous stand has led to widespread detention without trial, torture and more killings.

The problem seems enormous; it is. But every reader of this magazine can do something. If governments will not take action, then it is up to the people they are meant to serve to take action themselves.

Please: **Send for information.** We believe that people throughout the world have a right to know what is happening in South Africa. This is in contrast to the South African regime's ban on reporting current events. Return the coupon and we will gladly send you an information pack.

If you can: **Make a Financial Contribution.** The ANC needs funds to continue running its schools and hospitals for refugees from the horrors of Apartheid. Publishing information to keep the world informed about South Africa is also an expensive business.

The people of South Africa need your help. Thank you for your attention."

Alfred Nzo
Secretary General,
African National Congress

The African National Congress, PO Box 38, 28 Penton Street, London N1 9PR.

To: The ANC, PO Box 38, 28 Penton Street, London N1 9PR. M7

Please tick.

☐ **Please send me more information about what is happening in South Africa.** (We will gladly send this free, but it does cost us £2 to produce and post the package. If you could spare just this amount it will be a great help.)

☐ **I enclose a donation of £_____ (cheques payable to ANC). I would like it to be used:**

☐ To fund hospitals and refugee centres ☐ To pay for the printing of information

☐ Wherever it is most needed.

Name _____

Address _____

_____

_____ Postcode _____

Telephone _____

ANC

TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS UNION

'We forge ahead firm in our beliefs, strengthened by the devotion and solidarity of our friends.'
Nelson Mandela

REGION 6

Wally Nugent, Regional Chairman
Bob Owens, Regional Secretary

Transport House, 1 Crescent, Salford M54 PR.

'In Nicaragua, thousands of international visitors have been taken on Potemkin tours and have returned home full of anti-American venom – partisans of a totalitarianism which they would be among the first to denounce were it to strike their own countries. Others have remained, to constitute a kind of international brigade of the 1980s... Their story is just one more example of the ease with which revolutions can find supporters once they have occurred and when a line of brutal simplicity has been laid down'

CENTRAL AMERICA
Can Europe Play a Part?
by Hugh Thomas

Price including postage
£4.50 (UK/Europe)
$8.00 (USA)
£5.00 (Other countries)

Available from
The Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies
13-14 Golden Square,
London W1R 3AG
Telephone 01-439 8719.
Telex 263885 HOTTEA

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Popular Socialism

Stuart Hall's analysis of Labour's election performance (*MT*, July) was full of insight.

In particular, Stuart is correct in his judgement of Labour's campaign. It was brilliantly executed. If it hadn't been, Labour could well have found itself pushed into third place. Nevertheless its essential appeal was a traditional one: to the idea of a caring society which went down best in Labour's northern heartlands. Even Labour's economic programme was presented virtually as a *social* policy.

To win requires the defeat of Thatcherism on the ideological terrain, as Stuart points out. We have to project a 'popular socialism' to counter 'popular capitalism'.

And that means giving much more serious attention to questions of policy than *Marxism Today* has so far appeared willing or able to do. The initiative will be taken by the centre-Right, with the hard Left shouting slogans from the margins.

This is a matter of some urgency. If *Marxism Today* continues merely to tell us how awfully hegemonic Thatcherism really is, then many on Labour's democratic Left are going to ask whether the project the magazine has been pursuing is exhausted.

Furthermore, if your hidden agenda is – as it often seems – to build an alliance with the Alliance, then *Marxism Today* will cease to play a creative and influential role, at least in Labour Party terms. The democratic Left has to press for the building of an anti-Thatcher majority, and that includes making a pitch for progressive Alliance supporters and members, especially radical Liberals. It also includes engaging with forces beyond the fossilised structures of Labour and the unions. But we all have to understand that there is only one realistic way of defeating Thatcherism under the present electoral system, and that is by pushing the Alliance back and transforming Labour into the kind of socialist party which can win a majority again.●

Peter Hain, London

Voting Patterns

The only significant change in voting patterns in the last three elections is the demise of the SDP. Capitalism is in chronic crisis (USA budget deficit, balance of trade with Japan, unpaid debts in South America, fall and rise in the price of oil, the CAP in Europe, revolt in South Africa) and yet we have a third Tory government. By the time of the next election, either the chronic crisis will still be contained (in which case there will be little change in voting patterns) or it will have become acute and Thatcherism will be compelled to move yet further to the Right. In either event, there will not be an overall majority for Labour. Yet there is a majority voting against Thatcherism.

For this majority to be effective, there must clearly be a firm Lib-Lab pact (more than a broad alliance). To persuade the Liberal Party in this direction it is only necessary for Labour to promise to enact some form of proportional representation and this would mean (and rightly so in democratic terms) hegemony of the Labour Party.●

R G Sargent, Cornwall

Election

Two errors crept into my article on the election results in the last issue. The first was my own error in transcription. On page 23 it reads: 'The divide in this election was not a class divide'. It should have read: 'The divide in this election was not *simply* a class divide'. It is obvious that there were divides along class lines; though they interacted with other divisions.

The second mistake was a *Marxism Today* proofing error. I wrote: 'There have been lurid accounts of plans within the party "to neuter(!) the so-called London-effect", and "to crush the hard left".' This appeared (page 21) without any quote marks or exclamation mark. I was citing newspaper articles, and the quotation marks were intended to emphasise the kind of language used. Terms like 'neuter' and 'crush' seem to be part of the vocabulary of those who would wish to marginalise the Left and all radicalism. I would never use such terms.

The same goes for the term 'hard left'. It is *designed* as a term of abuse, and is assigned by those on the right to almost any strand of radical opinion with which they disagree. ●

Doreen Massey, London

War Or Peace

What was absent from Archie Brown's excellent article, (*MT*, May) 'The Gorbachev Offensive,' but which could decide the fate of everything else, is war or peace.

For years, Soviet defence policy posited parity with the US and the declared belief that the USSR could defeat any nuclear invaders and survive a nuclear war.

Now the Soviets say nobody would survive a nuclear holocaust, and the strategy of nuclear deterrence is a snare and a delusion. They have been imaginative and bold in their proposals and actions – the 19 month unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing for example. The latest initiative is the tabling of new proposals for a comprehensive test ban treaty, with far-reaching inspection facilities.

Our input to the current debates in the Soviet Union on economic and industrial reforms can only be minimal; but we can have an enormous influence in ensuring that the West responds positively to the Soviet peace proposals. We, in Britain, have a particular responsibility to change the actions of the abominable Nowoman, now alarmingly re-instated in power. We failed to get Britain to respond positively to the Soviet moratorium on nuclear testing, and we cannot afford many more lost opportunities. The Gorbachev phenomenon is more than a subject for academic dissection, important as this is. It is a ray of hope to which we must respond. ●

Arthur Mendelsohn, London

Greek Left

Kapetanyannis' account (*MT*, June) was reluctant to touch on the reasons why half the Greek Eurocommunist party has refused to take part in the new 'Greek Left'. The latter, together with many previously non-aligned members of the Left, have come together to form another party, also part of the Greek Left, which hopes to build on the Greek Eurocommunist experience rather than venture into the more nebulous and uncharted terrain of the 'Greek Left'.

I will clarify some of the issues between the two contending parties. The split in the Eurocommunist party did not result from differences over widening their base. Both sides were committed to 'New Left' issues and take questions of democracy seriously. No easy parallel can be drawn with British debates on the soft and hard Left.

The emphasis of the new party was on short-term electoral considerations and the marketing of the new product. What was to be kept from the Eurocommunist tradition and what exactly was new was left deliberately vague. While not doubting that the founding congress of the 'Greek Left' was open, there was little effort to attempt a synthesis between contending views. Its desire to appeal to everybody entailed that the synthesis would have to come later at the level of the central committee, thus giving it a free hand in the major issues.

The major problem for the 'Greek Left' is, therefore, what to do when the initial novelty of a new party wears off.●

Euclid Tsakolotos, Oxford

A True Story

Returning from the lanes of Yorkshire, I reclined with a Jameson's and July's *Marxism Today*. I was startled by Ina Myatt's justificiation of two-wheel travel: 'Cycling is something *you* do, not something that gets done to you'.

Inspired by Prof Hall's latest conceptual innovation, I briefly ruminated on the apparently Thatcherite 'image' which this statement implies (individual choice exalted over democratic consumption). I then dozed off.

I awoke from my cycopolitico nightmare on a bike tour with Norman Tebbit and his Dad. ●

Peter Gibbon, Sheffield

'We're changing the rose to a cheeseplant'

Cartoon: Nick Newman

PS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Abuse of Trust

The Cleveland affair has brought child sexual abuse right back into the headlines yet again. **Mary MacLeod** and **Esther Saraga** argue that while the incidence of child sexual abuse is now widely recognised, Cleveland shows the dangers of a backlash

Amid all the recent publicity, it is often forgotten that child sexual abuse was first brought to public attention by women, who 'spoke out' about the harrowing experiences of their childhood. During the 1970s, feminist organisations like Rape Crisis and Women's Aid set up helplines and refuges, and their experiences clearly challenged the myth that children and women are at risk from strangers: most sexual violence occurs within the family.

In the 1960s, professionals (initially paediatricians, then social workers) had begun to recognise the extent of physical abuse of children within the family. It took another 20 years for these same professionals to acknowledge both the incidence of sexual abuse, and the extent to which they had ignored it. Kempe and Kempe, two of the pioneering experts in this field, write that they 'look back on a number of patients under our care in whose cases we simply did not consider sexual abuse as a major or the single cause of the youngsters' problems. This is particularly disturbing now when the matter seems so very obvious . . .' (Kempe and Kempe, *The Common Secret* 1984).

Many reasons have been given for the delay in recognising child sexual abuse. It is rarely on its own a life and death issue. When a child has been sexually abused there are few external visible signs, like bruises. Children do not often talk about the abusing adult because of threats or coercion, and when they do 'disclose' they are often not believed. It is mainly the disbelief of parents, teachers and the adult world in general which has prevented acknowledgement of the extent of sexual abuse.

For many years, the reality of sexual abuse was obscured by the influence of Freudian notions that children's reports of abuse were not fact but fantasy. These ideas have recently been challenged by feminist writers and by some psychoanalysts. It is now widely accepted that children do not lie about abuse. Young children simply do not have the necessary experience or understanding to invent detailed stories of abuse. But the revulsion felt about incest has made people, shy away from the problem.

There are no reliable figures for child sexual abuse. However this does not mean that we cannot say anything about its incidence. There are two sources of evidence: 'cases' that appear in the files of authorities such as social workers, police, or doctors; and questionnaires given to random samples of adults. The figures obtained from retrospective surveys are much higher than those derived from case files. The latter are clearly a gross underestimate of the problem, because the vast majority of abused children tell no-one.

Figures also vary according to the questions asked in a survey, or the definition of sexual abuse that is used. There are two important distinctions; one is the nature of the actual assault, which may range from 'flashing' to touching, masturbation and oral, anal and genital rape; the other is the relationship between the abused and the abuser. All sexual abuse of children involves an abuse of power by an adult over a child who is unable to consent. But if the assault is carried out by a loved and trusted adult, it is part of a grotesque betrayal of trust.

Despite these difficulties, there is general agreement among researchers that the official statistics are an underestimate. Retrospective surveys suggest that between 1 in 10 and 1 in 4 children are sexually abused. In the majority of cases (60-80%), the victim is a girl. In the overwhelming majority of cases (about 95%), the abuser is a man, and usually known to the child, frequently (about 50%) a family member. It is also agreed that the more people acknowledge child sexual abuse and are prepared to believe it occurs, the more cases come to light, and the more children and adult survivors feel able to disclose, often for the first time. The recent rapid increase in cases in Cleveland and elsewhere is therefore more likely to indicate a 'breaking of the silence' and greater professional awareness than either an increase in abuse or 'over-zealousness'.

Professional concern has moved on from questions of incidence to debates about the best way to intervene, both when a disclosure is made, and when there is a suspicion of abuse. Medical evidence is not 'key' for most professionals. Instead they are trying to improve their ways of talking directly to children to enable children, who may have been highly traumatised, to tell what has happened. The child and what s/he says is the best evidence that we have. Only for very young children (below two years) is this source of evidence not available, so that we have to rely on physical or behavioural signs. Medical diagnoses are only appropriate in cases in which there are physical signs of abuse.

There is a tension between the evidence required to act to stop the abuse, protect the child, and begin therapy, and the evidence required to obtain a criminal prosecution. At the present time, the law does not allow an alleged abuser to be convicted on the uncorroborated evidence of an unsworn child. (Children as young as two years are quite capable of being accurate witnesses. They are not able to understand the 'duty to tell the truth', and hence cannot swear in court.) The new Criminal Justice Bill has provoked a furious debate about the admissibility of children's evidence and the weight that should be given to it.

There has been little debate on the question of *why* child sexual abuse occurs. Most professionals see child

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sexual abuse as a *family* problem; something that occurs in 'sick' or 'dysfunctional' families. In their view, in normal families, members adopt roles appropriate to their sex and age. When these roles are performed properly, families are stable and work well. Child sexual abuse happens when the wife/mother 'steps out of line'. For example: 'When a mother withdraws from her family, her children and husband may turn to one another for support, practical assistance or comfort, and the foundations of an incestuous relationship are laid' *(Child Sexual Abuse Within the Family*, Ciba Foundation 1984). Withdrawal may mean that the mother is depressed, goes out to work, or refuses to sleep with her husband. Mothers are seen as responsible for securing their children's safety, and described as either actively or passively colluding when abuse occurs.

Public awareness and understanding of the issues has lagged seriously behind that of interested feminists and professionals. In the last few years there have been many autobiographical accounts, novels, tv documentaries and films about child sexual abuse, but it was the publicity given to the launch of Esther Rantzen's *Childline* which appeared to finally convince everyone that large numbers of children were indeed 'in trouble or danger'. *Childline*, a national telephone helpline for children, was launched last October amid much controversy. The impact of *Childline* has been contradictory. It did not result in the strengthening of the services with statutory responsibility for the protection of children, but instead to an appeal for funds for a charity, launched on tv and supported by private enterprise.

The message of *Childline* was difficult to resist. Even the government was forced to make a donation – enough to keep the charity going for about two weeks. By Christmas, the media hype had died down, and Esther Rantzen was appealing to the 'happy' children to collect money to give to those who were less fortunate than themselves. But it did serve to emphasise that large numbers of children were being sexually abused.

What neither the government nor *Childline* seemed to have anticipated was the subversiveness of an operation which invites children to tell what is going on in the family. A backlash was inevitable and predictable. Interestingly the vehicle for the backlash was not children disclosing abuse, but professionals in Cleveland who allegedly 'discovered' abuse, or even, as in Stuart Bell's version, 'created' it, in order to obtain more resources.

It is impossible to know exactly what has happened in Cleveland. But it is clear that large numbers of children (202) were suspected of having been abused. Following medical diagnoses, 83 cases were confirmed as sexual

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

abuse to social services, who have a duty to investigate any allegation of abuse and to act to protect the child. In Cleveland they took the children into care on a place of safety order.

The controversy has been described in the press in many different ways: as being about the interference of the state in working-class families; the power and role of different 'experts', particularly doctors and the police, and disagreements between them; and the 'rights' of parents versus the rights of children (although very little has been written about children's rights). The issue of how to intervene has been confused with the issue of whether abuse has occurred, and how to 'diagnose' it. All of these issues are of course legitimate ones about which to be concerned and to write.

The first attack by Stuart Bell, the Labour MP for the area, was over the numbers of cases. He and the tabloids just could not believe that child sexual abuse was so prevalent. He suggested that the professionals must have invented it. Careful tv reporting of the research evidence on incidence, the experience and quiet confidence of Dr Higgs and the Cleveland social workers has somewhat undermined the bluster of Stuart Bell, and pushed him into the second line of defence or argument against over-zealous paediatricians. But professionals are forced to take action to protect individual children, and they have to act without knowing, necessarily, the right thing to do, in the midst of furious disagreement about what is right, and without access to the resources that they require.

This work is painful and difficult; decisions have to be made by balancing risks and probabilities, on the basis of not enough information, without the benefit of the hindsight so relied on by the press and commissions of inquiry. Social workers' practice is inevitably affected by the media attention paid to child care tragedies. To see Cleveland as simply another mistake by fanatical professionals is appealing. The greatest danger is that abuse has occurred and nothing will be done. The evidence from adult survivors is that they often tried to tell and were not listened to; they were desperate for someone to intervene.

We should not ignore the fact that childcare law is very unfair to parents, as the recent ruling in the European Court in Strasbourg shows. Recognising this is not the same as saying that the state should not intervene, or that parents are always guilt-free in relation to their children. And what about the rights of children? Childcare law demands that decisions are made in 'the best interests of the child', but there is no consensus on what this means. And we know that while children may suffer in their families, public care can often be a damnable solution to their problems.

'The large numbers in Cleveland suggest that something is wrong in ordinary families'

The apparent subject of the trial by press is paediatric and social work practice in Cleveland. But the multiplicity of issues and the furore surrounding them have served to hide the central national anxiety: that what is on trial is the family. It is unthinkable that the source of security, safety and love really can be a dangerous place. The existence of sexual abuse can be accepted if it is something that happens in peculiar places, in peculiar families.

But the large numbers in Cleveland suggest that something is wrong in ordinary families, a suggestion which at the same time threatens the ideology of the family, creates personal anxiety and undermines confidence in one's own family. Sexuality causes anxiety and embarrassment for most people, who may feel unease about how to handle their children's sexuality and their own feelings about their children. But in most families, acceptable boundaries are established and adults take the responsibility of maintaining them. The fact that the majority of abusers persuade or coerce children to 'keep the secret', means that they are fully aware that what they are doing is wrong.

Children who disclose abuse, the bringers of bad news about their families, often meet anger, rejection and denial. The increasing media attention to child sexual abuse produces a parallel public reaction. As Dr Higgs so tellingly put it in *The Observer:* 'I think what is happening to me, and all the anger that is directed against me, is a direct analogy of what happens to children when they disclose that they have been abused or when abuse is detected.'

Curiously in all the press and public comment it has been impossible to distinguish a 'left' or 'right' wing line. The Labour Party has been conspicuously silent – only criticising the government for not agreeing sooner to set up an inquiry. Only Clare Short appears to have criticised Stuart Bell's role in the whole affair. The Left and the Right have a curious agreement about state intervention when it comes to families. They both strive to strengthen traditional family values, and only disagree about the explanation of why things go wrong; for the Left, this is a product of social and material conditions; for the Right, a product of inadequate or depraved individuals.

The Left has always been clear about the need for resources to support working-class families – child benefit, day nursery provision, adequate health and education services etc. It has always argued rightly for *prevention* before *intervention,* and rightly emphasised the appalling impact of poor housing, unemployment, and poor health on intimate relationships within the family – between partners, and between parents and children.

While there is a clear relationship between poverty, hardship and physical abuse, both American and British studies show no such relationship with sexual abuse. A class analysis offers a great deal to our understanding of why some families 'fail' in the care of their children, as well as highlighting the scale of the state's failure, from inadequate resources to poor children's homes. But a class analysis does not take into account the power imbalances within families – it leaves out both gender and age.

Feminist explanations of child sexual abuse, in contrast, focus on the fact that the overwhelming majority of such abuse is carried out by men. Sexual abuse is an abuse of male power over children, similar to sexual and other violence against women. It can only be understood by looking at masculinity and male sexuality. Boys learn to experience their sexuality as a powerful and often uncontrollable force. They learn that if they are to feel truly masculine they must feel powerful, and that they can overcome feelings of powerlessness and inadequacy by using their sexuality to control someone weaker.

Professionals who adopt the 'family' approach described earlier argue that since many abusers are rather pathetic and submissive, child sexual abuse cannot be seen in terms of male power. They implicitly accept the inevitability of child sexual abuse when they hold women responsible for controlling men's sexuality: '. . . a man deprived of his conjugal rights may turn to the nearest available source of gratification – a dependent child' (Ciba Foundation 1984). Men who are pathetic in the face of authority can be brutal towards their women/wives and children. The belief that men cannot control their sexuality, and that women and children have to be responsible for ensuring that they do not arouse men, is deeply rooted in our culture, and explains the common myth that women and children 'ask for it'.

Very little research has looked at abusers, but the evidence that exists shows that they are not disturbed or deviant men. Rich Snowdon, who spent a year leading a counselling group in San Francisco for men who had committed incest, shows how 'ordinary' the men are. 'I was prepared for these men to be monsters... But I was not prepared for them to be who they were . . . As they began to talk, I couldn't stop being amazed that they were all regular guys, ordinary working men and average pillars of the community. They reminded me of the men that I knew growing up' (*Aegis* 29, 1980).

The lack of public or professional debate on why abuse occurs is particularly serious when it comes to intervention. In particular feminist and orthodox explanations differ in their view of, and hence their approach to, the mothers of abused children. If mothers are 'collud-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ers', then children can only be protected by taking them into care. If, on the other hand, mothers are given time and support to deal with their feelings of grief, anger and denial, then they may be able to stay with and care for their child. Some local authorities have now recognised this, and they routinely assign two social workers to each case – one to work with the child, and one with the mother.

Protecting children from abuse does not have to mean the heavy hand of state intervention. It can instead mean the provision of resources that can support the child within the non-abusing part of the family. But this cannot be achieved if we are only willing to see the family as a monolithic structure which is sacrosanct, and the parents as an indivisible unit. The question can be crudely posed: is it more important for children to grow up free from abuse or to live with both their biological parents?

The most alarming implication of the orthodox explanations is the current view of prevention. There is virtually no discussion about decreasing the likelihood that men will abuse (in fact most 'experts' are very pessimistic about the capacity of abusers to change). Instead, prevention is envisaged in terms of programmes like 'Kidscape' which teach children to say 'no'; and this view is endorsed in the DHSS guidelines. But children do say 'no' – and it makes no difference, except possibly to increase the threats against them. 'I said "no"', said one 17 year old in a recent tv programme, 'but he said he did it because he loved me, and that all fathers do it in their families . . . I would have had to kill him to stop him'.

Every attempt to educate children and to empower them is to be welcomed. But this approach carries a lot of risks, particularly for the very children whom it seeks to help. It makes children responsible for adults, and may also make abused children feel even more guilty. Sex education in schools, almost ruled out by the present government, is obviously important. And there is evidence that 'Kidscape' classes may make it easier for abused children to tell. This is important, but this is not prevention.

Prevention has to be about changing the ways that boys learn to be men, and changing our expectations of men. It is hard to envisage this happening on the scale required. However, short of this, a major step forward could be achieved by changing the law to enable suspected abusers to be removed from a family, pending investigation, instead of the child. This would clearly signal that men's power and freedom of action within families is unacceptable if they abuse it.

Saying that child sexual abuse happens because of the way that men learn to be men, and that it happens in 'ordinary' families, is not saying that it happens in every family. We could probably learn a lot about why it occurs by looking at those men and those families in which there is no abuse. It is saying that the family can be a very dangerous place for both women and children, that we cannot rely on it to be a haven of comfort and love, and leave it at that. There is some evidence that the risk of abuse may even be greater in 'traditional' families – those which adopt strict sex roles – and that men involved in nurturing their children may be less likely to abuse.

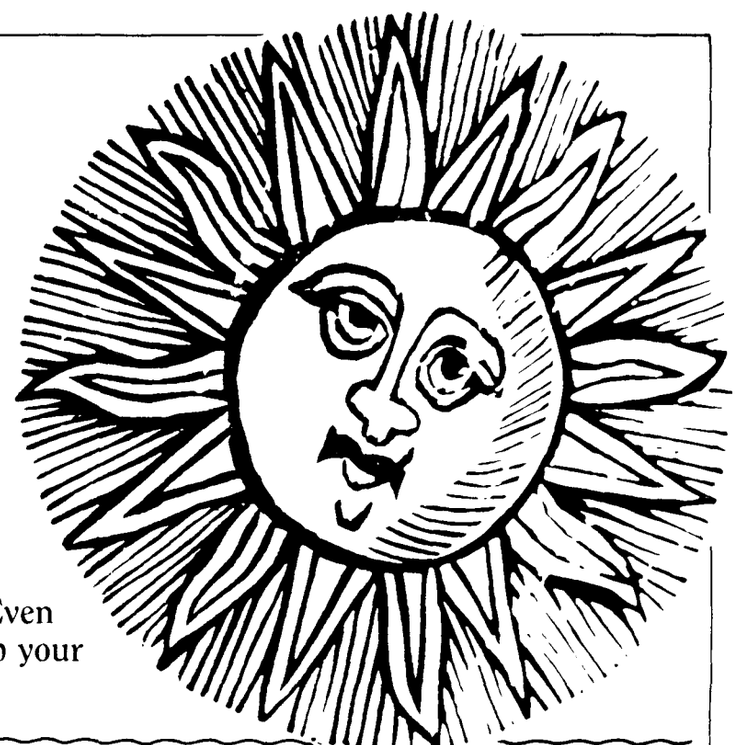
'The Left and the Right have a curious agreement about state intervention when it comes to families'

Children who are neglected and abused must have recourse to help and protection. Stuart Bell is wrong when he challenges the statistics. However unpalatable, the truth is that many children are sexually abused by loved and trusted men, often their fathers. Abused children and their mothers need to be empowered to stop the abuse. The state has a role to play in this. A positive outcome of Cleveland could be a debate on the role, responsibilities and actions of the state, provided that this debate is conducted in public, takes account of the facts that are known, of different theoretical explanations, and of their implications for intervention. Our fear is that the events in Cleveland will instead simply be a 'hue and cry', which silences the children and concerned professionals, and sends child sexual abuse back into the closet. ●

MARXISM TODAY'S SUBSCRIPTION SPECIAL OFFER

To brighten up your holiday we are giving away **FREE** a whole Summer's worth of Marxism Today. Take advantage of our sunshine generosity and you will receive 15 months of Marxism Today for the price of only 12.

Just in case the Summer turns into a washout we are also giving away a colourful poster specially imported from the Italian Communist Party. Even when it rains we will be brightening up your gloom.



Yes I will take advantage of your sunshine generosity. Please send me a **FREE** summer's worth of Marxism Today starting with the ..... issue, plus my free poster

I enclose a cheque/postal order (made payable to Marxism Today) for my 15 months of Marxism Today for the price of 12. £11.40 for UK subscribers, £20 for overseas.

Please send to: Marxism Today Subscriptions, FREEPOST, Bletchley, Milton Keynes MK1 1PW.

Name _____

Address _____

_____

MT Aug

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ostpolitik Reborn

Earlier this year, the German SPD suffered a serious election defeat. Like the British Left it is rethinking. In this interview with **Eric Hobsbawm, Peter Glotz,** until recently general secretary of the SPD, assesses the prospects for the Left

Glotz (left) and Hobsbawm

Peter Glotz was general secretary of the SPD from 1980 until June of this year. During the early 80s he played a key role in establishing contact between the SPD and the burgeoning social movements. He is the author of several important articles on the state of the European Left. He was born in Bohemia in 1939 and is presently a member of the Bundestag and its foreign relations committee.

You have written a good deal about the relations between Eastern and Western Europe, though it is not very well-known in Britain. How do you see the relations between the Western socialist movements and the Eastern bloc countries, or the movements within the Eastern bloc?

Well, I start from a concept which is highly controversial, namely Central Europe. I believe that it still exists. Now this is highly controversial, and I come in for a lot of flak in my own party, because there is always the risk that 'Central Europe' will be interpreted as a German hegemony or a German-Austrian hegemony over Hungary, Czechoslovakia and all the other small states of Central and Eastern Europe. That is not the idea at all.

Today we are in a situation in which it is not possible to dissolve the two blocs in the short term, and which therefore offers us no chance of going our own ways. For this reason I am also rather critical of the ideas put forward for a restoration of the small-German Bismarckian empire in the name of reunification; I put more faith in a real European solution, and I believe that it must proceed from the present-day blocs, the present-day bloc situation, and must try to overcome it – in three areas in particular.

Firstly, I believe that we can make Central Europe a disarmament zone, and here we are talking about a chemical weapon-free zone, about a nuclear-free corridor or indeed the Gorbachev proposals, which are now addressing the question of middle-range missiles and which originally came from the West, and might favour this trend. Demilitarisation, then, not in the sense of a complete shedding of all troops, but still a very marked thinning out.

Secondly, intensified economic contacts. There are now initiatives, again coming from Gorbachev, which we should seize – for example, proposed joint ventures between East and West. We should not allow the Americans to force us into curbing the transfer of technology between West and East. Rather, it is in the interests of peace as well as common development that modern Western technology reaches the East, and in a good many instances the reverse will hold true.

Thirdly, I think that cultural discussion should play a much larger and more crucial part than it does today, along with the mutual exchange of our intimately related European cultures. Even in the head of an average German Social Democrat, Warsaw today is basically a city on the other side of the Iron Curtain; the fact that Warsaw, Prague and Budapest are profoundly European cities, just as European as Paris, London or Berlin, is simply suppressed and forgotten. We lean our backs against the Wall, facing Portugal, discussing the question of olive imports or wine exports. There's no longer a dialogue, and the Slavs are behind us – Attila the Hun is at our backs, so to speak. That is an absurd position and it must be broken down; not by confrontation but through intensified cultural contacts. For someone like me, coming from the Austro-Hungarian empire in a manner of speaking, from Bohemia, where Czechs and Germans have lived alongside one another for a thousand years, it is a matter of special significance. But it really should be intelligible to others, too.

Let me say now, on quite a practical level, that in the past three or four years the SPD has discarded its quite understandable fear, which goes back several decades, of contact with the communist parties of the Eastern bloc and now has what are cautiously termed information contacts but which nevertheless amount to regular relations. Not in the sense that we conduct government negotiations, but in the sense that we try to promote developments in the economic and cultural sectors in particular, and also to discuss disarmament questions. And at the same time we maintain contact with the oppositional movements there, in so far as these things are compatible and feasible. And that gives us quite a different perspective. We have to create what I call a second *Ostpolitik*.

And how does this second 'Eastern policy' differ from the first?

Fundamentally, the first Ostpolitik removed the legacy of the war and restored normal relations. We as the government then were proud, and quite rightly so, of bringing about a four-party agreement on Berlin, so that we were not forced to use airlifts to feed people. Khrushchev still used to send up aeroplanes when the German federal parliament met in Berlin. That is all over. But in addition we had to secure the borders – a *de facto* recognition of the existing demarcation. That was necessary too. But now we must go further and really develop these relations with regard to content. One aspect of this is tourism in either direction; another is that we must encourage these countries to let their people out. The GDR still retains the fig-leaf that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Photography: Abel Lagos

people are only allowed out for family reasons. But in the meantime it has been extended so much that, on the whole, opportunities for travel are already very much better, though still not good enough. But much better than 10 years ago. And the same goes for countries like Hungary. In my opinion the further development of this process, with the three elements of disarmament, culture and economics, would definitely mark a qualitative change; it is going further than the mere restoration of normal relations under the first *Ostpolitik*.

'The SPD has discarded its quite understandable fear of contact with the communist parties of the Eastern bloc'

And how do you view the chances of this process? For instance, how do you assess the new Gorbachev era in the Soviet Union in relation to these problems?

I think that if Gorbachev holds out it will exert a tremendous influence on Western Europe. If, for example, we really do manage to get rid of the Pershings, which we installed, and the SS 20s, which Brezhnev installed, then Kohl, Thatcher and Chirac will not be able to carry on as before in their arms policies. It will provide an impulse. It will change our concept of the enemy. But the most far-reaching aspect is certainly economic reform; as far as that is concerned, it would be an illusion to imagine that it will not have ideological and cultural effects. The restriction of reforms, of *glasnost* and *perestroika* to the economy alone will not work.

Now the fundamental question is whether Gorbachev is proceeding too rapidly in all this. He is faced with a colossal problem. If he proceeds too slowly he will not get into orbit; if he proceeds too swiftly he will be pushed off course. And when it comes down to it, none of us can gauge exactly the balance of power in such a country after 60 years of that kind of socialism, of petrified and dogmatised socialism. He also faces all kinds of fearsome resistance from the middle-ranking officials, and in the economy. And even if there is no organised political opposition at present, it is still tremendously difficult to push through reforms. He needs successes. The question is whether the West is clever enough to give him these successes, or whether it will speculate that it would be better if he failed.

Obviously the Americans are hoping he will fail.

Yes they are, quite clearly, and so are a good many circles in West Germany and other conservative circles in Western Europe. They are virtually longing for the return of old Brezhnev. He did not come up with any surprises, nor did he force us to adapt to change. He maintained the old concept of the enemy. To that extent it is a tremendously interesting but also a tremendously ambivalent and vulnerable process, and no-one can say exactly what will come out of it. The only hope we have is that he derives a great deal of his support from academics, the KGB, and also from the higher echelons of the army. These are, after all, relatively strong groups in such an organised society.

But it is still interesting and welcome and unexpected that a man like Gorbachev rose to the top of a party which everyone regarded as a bureaucratic structure, completely immobile and immune to any attempt at reform.

And I want to say, incidentally, that I greatly welcome your attitude to the European problem of East-West relations. I believe that for us in the West, in Britain and in the other countries, Germany, the German problem and particularly the policy of the SPD in this respect is a vitally important matter. For it is by way of internal German policy, the West-East policy if you like, that the cold war will be dismantled. The fact that you are already succeeding in Germany in radically changing the relations between East and West must have a positive effect on the situation all over Europe, perhaps even throughout the world. And I think it is tremendously important that you are proposing this second 'Eastern policy', whether or not it gets any further.

It has even affected the Conservatives in Germany. The normalisation of internal German relations was certainly initiated by us, the Social Democrats; but there are also strong forces in the CDU/CSU which are carrying on the talks and which can no longer cling to the old image of Ulbricht the enemy in the same way. To this extent, then, we very much hope that this second *Ostpolitik* will become a reality. But it is quite true that we encounter a great deal of misunderstanding and many questions from some of our friends, particularly in France, and notably the French Socialists.

Yes, I think that we must unfortunately admit frankly that the French – including the French Left – have somehow worked themselves up into a new Cold War mood.

It's what I always call the Yves Montand effect. In France there is the problem that they regard a Germany divided and turned against itself as more predictable than a Germany that is admittedly divided but still working together within the policy of coexistence.

Yes, that's right. But it is not a purely German thing. For instance, I would say that it is also very noticeable in the attitude of the French to Poland and to the Soviet Union. The fact is that the French find it extremely difficult to digest the Gorbachev phenomenon in any way – even many people in the French Left. In the last five years they have simply dismissed everything with the word 'Gulag'. There was no need to analyse... 'Oh, they're all just totalitarian societies, there's nothing going on, nothing ever happens there.' I must say quite frankly that I find this attitude incomprehensible nowadays, in the 1980s.

The term totalitarianism may have been applicable to the society which Stalin set up in the 1930s and 1940s, and to that extent analyses like Hanna Arendt's and many others do have certain plausibility. But today I would no longer employ the concept of totalitarianism as it is employed by the French and by a section of the German Right.

I would like to ask you how you see the prospects of the SPD in Germany, including governmental prospects. What possibilities are there?

Basically it is necessary for the SPD to make a great leap forward once again, as it did at the end of the 1950s with the Godesberg programme, and we are in fact in the process of working out a new programme, the first draft of which is already completed.

There are a whole series of points which really are fundamentally different from the 1950s. The programme will be more feminist, and must be. The programme will give a new and different emphasis to the entire field of ecology, ecological modernisation and renewal, an emphasis which was still quite unrecognisable in the 1950s, intellectually. And out of this new internationalism which I mentioned earlier, together with the second *Ostpolitik*, we will develop a plan which I really believe can gain cultural hegemony for us in this field, because there is hardly any relevant response from the other side.

I think it is important to acknowledge the necessity of shortening working hours – not only as a technocratic

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Labour European MPs

'We continue to give the ANC our full support.'

Sponsored by
David Martin, Glyn Ford, Christine Crawley, Richard Balfe, Jeff Hoon, Carole Tongue and **Joyce Quin.**

The British Labour Group presented the ANC with £17,000 on Thursday 22nd July.

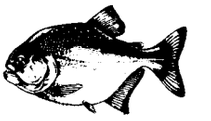
For more information contact
The British Labour Group Officer, 01222 1719.

52 Acre Lane, Brixton, London SW2 • LEVELLER GRAPHICS

PHOTOSETTING

Our basic rate is £17/thou words including photo-copying and delivery of proofs. Discounts for big/regular jobs. Fast turn-round on small jobs (often same day) at reasonable rates. We are now equipped to type-set from word-processor files on 5¼" discs, IBM compatible.

LEVELLER GRAPHICS



We can quote page rates for magazines, newsletters, news papers, reports, booklets etc. These include typesetting, paste-up, camera-work and design work if necessary. We can also make up pages on our Page Planner pro-gramme using word-processor files reducing costs.

ARTWORK

RING US FOR A "QUOTE" • Mike or Richard on 01-274 2288

fly PRESS

FOR CAMPAIGN AND PUBLICITY MATERIAL

LITHO	A2 POSTERS	LAPEL STICKERS	BADGES
DESIGN	NEWSLETTERS	LEAFLETS	BROCHURES
SCREEN	POSTERS	CARSTICKERS	

01 274 5181

A WORKERS' CO-OPERATIVE

AA ENTERPRISES

PO BOX 750, LONDON NW1 9EW, TEL 01-482 3883

ANTI-APARTHEID RECORDS & TAPES

Records & tapes stocked include:

Onyeka (SWAPO Cultural Group)	LP/Cassette	£5.75
Amandla (ANC Cultural Group)	LP only	£5.75
Radio Freedom (ANC Radio)	LP only	£6.00
African Sounds for Mandela (various artists)	LP only	£5.75
Not Just Mandela (various artists incl. Housemartins & Billy Bragg)	LP only	£3.99
Nelson Mandela (Youssou N'Dour)	LP only	£6.00
Shabini (Bhundu Boys)	LP/Cassette	£5.75
Tsvimbodzemoto (Bhundu Boys)	LP/Cassette	£5.75
Wende Zako (The Real Sounds)	LP/cassette	£5.75
Take Cover (Zimbabwean hits)	LP only	£5.75
White Wind, Black Tide (Peggy Seeger & Ewan McColl)	Cassette only	£4.50

To order — please use form below

✂ ----------

Please send me the following records/tapes

	no.	no.	£ total
_____	____ LP	___ cass	_____
_____	____ LP	___ cass	_____
		Postage*	_____
		GRAND TOTAL	_____

Name _____ **Address** _____

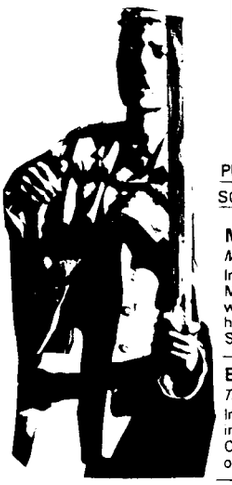
_____ **Postcode** _____

Please make cheques/POs payable to 'AA Enterprises' and allow 28 days for delivery. Send order with payment to: FREEPOST AA Enterprises, PO Box 750, London NW1 7YR (no stamp needed)

*Postage: orders up to £6.00: £1.00; up to £10.00: £1.50; up to £20.00: £2.00; over £20: £3.00

(AA Enterprises is the trading name of Futures Co-operative Ltd.)

TRADING AGAINST APARTHEID



KLIPTOWN BOOKS

PUBLISHING LIBERATION LITERATURE ON SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA

MY FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID

Michael Dingake. 256 pp illust. £5 (pb) £10 (hb).

Imprisoned for 15 years on Robben Island in 1965, Michael Dingake in his autobiography clearly reveals, with humour and political insight, how his whole life has been bound up with the struggle for liberation in South Africa.

ESCAPE FROM PRETORIA

Tim Jenkin. 256 pp illust. £5 (pb) £10 (hb).

In 1979 three political prisoners caused a sensation in South Africa when they broke out of Pretoria Central Prison. This is their incredible story, told by one of the escapees.

A TOUGH TALE *Mongane Wally Serote. 48 pp. £3*

Internationally acclaimed as one of South Africa's foremost liberation poets, Serote, in this his latest work, has written an extraordinarily powerful poem which depicts the protracted and bitter struggle against apartheid .... and the fighting spirit of the people.

Available from KLIPTOWN BOOKS, 64 Essex Road, London N1 8LR. Tel: 01-359 9181

Please send me ..... copies of MY FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID £5/£10
..... copies of ESCAPE FROM PRETORIA £5/£10
..... copies of A TOUGH TALE £3.

I enclose £.....

NAME _____ (BLOCK CAPITALS PLEASE)

ADDRESS _____

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

measure for combating unemployment, but also as the old Marxian utopia of time at one's disposal; and linked with this a new cultural policy, which I regard as the most seriously neglected area, at least as far as German social democracy is concerned. After all, we started as a combination of workers' educational associations, and today we are a movement in which culture has played practically no part at all for decades, and that has weakened us considerably.

These are the questions on which social democracy must summon up new strength; it is *the* precondition for success at the polls. At the moment our political discussion is determined by gossip about alliances. All we discuss is

whether we should go with the Greens or with somebody else. There is no political discussion any more, there is no direction to our struggle, nothing but tactical bickering which is of no interest to the normal citizen, only to the political class. And in that situation, with a tactical debate of that nature, it is impossible to get out of one's enclosure. And if we don't we will stay in a ghetto: unable to work with the Greens while the FDP (the Liberals) and the CDU are still strong enough to govern together, at least on a national level. So that's what we have to get out of. We can only do it if we have goals of our own, and these goals must be given a much sharper profile than is the case at present.

I believe that we must now follow a strategy that is strongly based on success in regional and local government. We have a broad base of elected representatives – mayors, members and majorities in the state parliaments – then in 1990 we have to resume the struggle for power in the *Bundestag*. At the moment it is impossible to predict the outcome, but we are old enough to be able to survive, as it were, another period until 1994 if need be. But of course, the longer the period in opposition, the greater the risk of the activists becoming isolated and the risk of degeneration. You lose the habit of power and even the aspiration to power. You become content with the positions of power which you are able to seize below the level of real power, if I may put it like that, and that too constitutes a great danger.

And how do you see the position and the prospects in Britain, from the German point of view?

I see developments in Britain as determined in a similar way to those in Germany: by a split in the labour movement and a split in the Left. Even 'labour movement' is really too narrow a concept. Basically the difference between Kohl and Thatcher is that Thatcher is more decisive and takes a more definite line than Kohl, and she is more radical and more brutal. It is astonishing that even in the face of such brutal policies, in which the class differences are a very great deal harsher than in West Germany, the two-thirds society is entrenching itself so firmly that she has now won three successive general elections.

What do you mean by a two-thirds society?

Basically it is a modern-day version of Disraeli's *theory of the two nations*. The problem is that a minority in society – the unemployed and their families, poor pensioners, single mothers who are forced on to supplementary benefit, casual workers who are liable to be made redundant again and again – are all forced downwards; but a majority in society (including many skilled workers) enjoy secure jobs. There is a danger that the upper stratum simply 'co-opts' this section of the working class and secures its loyalty.

We are faced with a number of circumstances related to this which at the moment we, as a labour movement or a political party, fail to grasp. I think we are faced with a *trend towards individualisation*. It is more noticeable in West Germany than in Great Britain; but I think it is a general European development. Incomes have risen considerably in the last three decades, as have the educational opportunities of the lower strata. There are trends towards the decentralisation of the workplace and increasing flexibility in working hours. This all leads to the individual being wrenched away from former class loyalties and responsibilities for the welfare of others; but on the other hand new dependencies devolve upon people through their dependence on the labour market and their consumer existence. The individual now has more options, and also more ties. I believe that the German Social Democrats – and the Labour Party – must adapt to differing lifestyles and differing income levels to a greater extent than they have done in their culture hitherto. It is my impression that the Left reacts to this trend towards individualisation by trying to deny that it exists.

What is being denied are the profound changes in the social and economic structure of modern society, whether individualising or not.

Now a further thing which strikes me about the British Left is the particular difficulty it has in finding its way to a European idea, which I consider unavoidable. We also notice this in our contacts in the European parliament, which of course at the moment does not play a major part, but at least it is a meeting point. It is easier to engage in a European debate with the Italian Communists than with comrades from the Labour Party. There is no doubt about that.

There is also a difference between the German and the British Left in their attitude towards the theme of the technical and ecological modernisation of industrial society, in the trend towards 'tertiarisation', towards the service economy, towards that sort of merging of micro-electronics, information technology and computers. We must take great care that we do not leave all this and everything connected with it to the Right. We must organise it from the Left.

You cannot make a stand against *economic developments of this* kind with rhetoric. They will come anyway – that much at least I hope we have remembered from Marx. So it is futile if one does not try to organise it. And there I see certain problems and difficulties.

In the British Labour Party?

Yes.

May I put another question to you, about the collaboration of the Left, the European collaboration of the Left, the so-called Euro-Left. I assume that you have supported it for a long time. I also assume that in this respect you no longer observe the old differences between, let us say, the communist and social democratic parties to quite the same extent as in the past – in other words, that collaboration is possible.

Though of course we make clear distinctions between the various communist parties. The Italian Communists are simply quite different from the French, as they always have been.

But the French Socialists are also quite different.

I would be happy to go along with that, but to my way of thinking there are still communist parties – the German Communist Party (DKP) is undoubtedly one of them – with whom there is not a great deal of point in talking. But on the other hand there are a whole lot of groupings with whom it is most interesting to talk, and I think that for this reason we must make a distinction.

Fine, but we are not just talking about conversations, are we? How do you view the collaboration between the various European Lefts practically, outside the European parliament?

Well, to be quite realistic about it I have

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Personal Financial Planning Service

Former Trade Unionists (SCPS, NALGO & NUJ) ready to advise you, free and without obligation, anywhere in UK. Please complete and return:-

Please let me have information on the following:-
Regular Saving and/or Life Assurance ☐ Mortgages ☐
Investments, including
Guaranteed Income Bonds ☐ Retirement and/or Redundancy Planning ☐

Other (please specify) _____

Name _____

Home Address _____

_____

Tel No. (Home) _____ *Tel No. (Work)* _____

Please return to: Roger Rhys Thomas, Freepost, Penarth, South Glamorgan, CF61ZZ.
Tel: (0222) 708103

Pennine Futons

FUTONS + BED BASES

Tel: 0484 846748

Sae for details: Pennine Futons, Cellars Clough Mill, Manchester Road, Marsden, Huddersfield.

Direct from the manufacturer

IFAA

Africa: The IMF, and World Bank

Conference on the Impact of the IMF and World Bank Policies on the People of Africa

Monday 7th – Thursday 10th September, 1987

City University, London

IFAA
23 Bevenden Street
London N1 6BH, UK
Tel: 01-251 1503

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

July issue includes:

Yegor Ligachov (USSR) The Revolutionary Essence of Perestroika

James Stewart (Ireland) Who We Regard as Allies

Alberto Miny (San Marino) Joining the Christian Democrats in a Ruling Coalition

Dan[illegible] (USA) Prospects for Nationalization in the U.S.

Union Man. **Biography of Jack Jones,** reviewed by Jim Mortimer

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

Single issues 60p (posting extra)
Subscriptions £8.50 for 12 issues (including postage)

Apply to WMR, Central Books, 14 The Leathermarket, London SE1 3ER

A COMMUNIST PARTY CAMPAIGN

SCRAP THE POLL TAX

The trade unions, local councils (and not just Labour ones!), the churches, business and officialdom, as well as political parties, are up in arms against it. So are Tories like Heath and Heseltine. They fear the Poll Tax will be a future election loser. From the trade unions and Labour Party a powerful campaigning lead is needed in every city and town. Only a united movement can stop the Thatcherites. The Communist Party will work to build it.

FOR FINANCING LOCAL SERVICES THERE IS AN ALTERNATIVE . . . and it is *not* the present rating system, which is also unfair and cumbersome. *The Communist Party campaigns for a local income tax based on ability to pay,* which puts control back into local hands.

Please send me:
_____copy(ies) ***Introduction to Marxism*** **£1.95 plus 40p p&p**
_____copy(ies) ***Racism and schools*** **£2.95 plus 40p p&p**
_____copy(ies) ***British Road to Socialism*** **£0.40 plus 40p p&p**
☐ **Please send 1000 'Scrap the Poll Tax' Campaign leaflets £6.00 plus £2.50 p&p**
Cheques and order to CPGB, 16 St John Street, London EC1M 4AY.

Name _____
Address _____
_____
_____ **Phone** _____

I wish to join/wish to know more about The Communist Party/The Young Communist League.

Send to: Gordon McLennan, 16 St John Street, London EC1M 4AY. Tel: 01-251 4406

Name _____
Address _____
_____
_____ **Phone** _____

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to say that at the present time this collaboration exists at best in the form of personal contacts. In an institutionalised form it hardly exists at all. There is a federation of European social democratic parties, which is an address rather than an organisation. And there are almost no contacts between the trade unions. This seems to me to be the most important point. If we do not succeed in bringing the European trade unions closer together and establishing practical communication between them, then quite simply we shall be defeated by the European entrepreneurs in a confrontation in which social struggles are increasingly coordinated.

Secondly I believe we must bring the discussions in our various countries into closer contact. So I have been campaigning for some time now for a journal, a magazine, a yearbook in which the intellectual discussions of the French or the British are brought into contact with those of the Germans, or the Italians. For at the moment there is a very strong national isolation. In actual fact, we live separately side by side and I think we must take the first steps in two areas: firstly, in the intellectual sphere, so that the discussions contribute to each other, so that we at least arouse a mutual interest among the elites; secondly, in the field of trade union organisation, which incidentally might finance what would have to be done. Unfortunately it is only moving very slowly.

'A good many conservative circles in Western Europe are virtually longing for the return of old Brezhnev'

What you have to say about the trade unions seems to me to be right and very important. The labour movements have historically been completely built to operate within national frontiers. Today that is increasingly unrealistic. Of course in practice it is impossible to operate effectively on a worldwide scale against the transnational firms that control us to an ever-growing extent. Nevertheless we must somehow transcend the limitations of the trade union movement, particularly of the trade unions on the national level, within the national borders. And the best chance of achieving this is within Europe.

And that is also possible if the national party leaderships desire it more strongly, and I believe it is vital that we fight for it. In our party, the SPD, there is a very strong move in this direction, and I must add that the European parliament has had favourable consequences for us.

I think the intellectual connection is easier to establish than the trade union connection, for in the latter case we are dealing with more than just a conversation. It must somehow be made operational.

I think a good deal of the union contact must be initiated bilaterally, and once this network is in place it can be developed further multilaterally.

Clearly we are both very much in favour of European collaboration on the Left.

Absolutely. I have the impression that people are noticing more and more that we are not able to serve their interests with our programmes, that we are unable to reach them.

I will give you two examples. There is a globalisation of risk. Take Chernobyl as an example. That is something which can no longer be dealt with on a national scale; it cannot be affected. And in economic policy, too, it is a sheer illusion to imagine that with classical employment programmes of the Keynesian type, on which socialists had based their economic policy for decades, one might easily combat unemployment in the face of American interest rates and Euro-dollar market, in the face of the international circulation of capital and the goings-on associated with it. There are so many international determinants that one is no longer capable of taking action nationally.

From this I draw the conclusion that if we do not achieve a Europeanisation of politics, but go on cherishing the illusion that we can overcome the problems within the framework of the old national state, then we shall increasingly lack credibility, because people will sense that we are only talking, and in the final analysis no longer possess the instruments with which to effectively influence politics. ●

Translated from the German by Barrie Selman.

SOCIALIST AFFAIRS

The unique voice of the democratic left, worldwide

Socialist Affairs *is the only magazine where you'll find:*

- *Important articles on disarmament, the world economic crisis, Central America, Southern Africa; and new insights into the destruction of the environment, the role of women, new technologies arms conversion*
- *The voices of leading socialists — Willy Brandt, Felipe González, Gro Harlem Brundtland, Bruno Kreisky, David Lange, Michael Manley, Carlos Andrés Pérez*
- *And of course detailed reports of the activities of the Socialist International, the world's largest political international, with more than seventy member parties.*

For only £12.00 annually, ***Socialist Affairs*** *provides, four times a year, 80 pages of news, comment, analysis and information. So subscribe now: Socialist Affairs, Maritime House, Old Town, Clapham, London SW4 OJW*

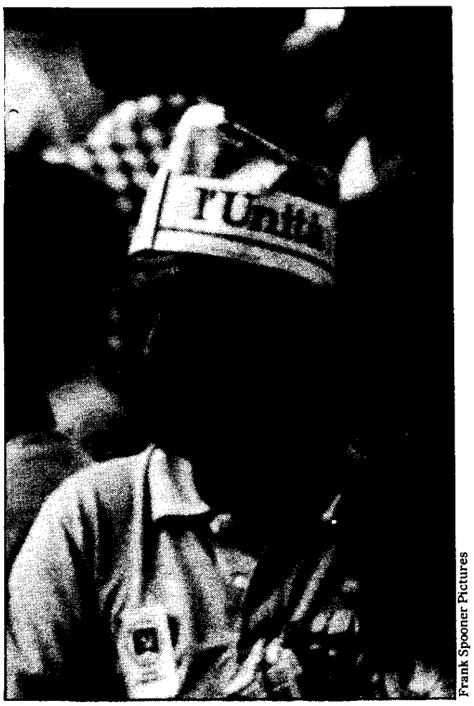
For many years I have enjoyed reading **Socialist Affairs.** *Covering the progress of democratic socialist and labour parties like ours, it keeps me in touch with events which are not usually covered in the media or, if they are, in a distorted fashion.*
Michael Foot
Honorary president of the Socialist International

Please enter my subscription to ***Socialist Affairs*** *for one year*

Name

Address

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Frank Spooner Pictures

PCI at the polls: hegemony in shreds

Italy's Fading Dream

Only a week after Labour's hiding in the general election, the PCI suffered the same fate in Italy. **Donald Sassoon** argues that many common factors lie behind it

At the general election of June 14 the Italian Communist Party (PCI) suffered its worst electoral defeat: with a 26.6% share of the vote, it has lost 3.3% since 1983. All the electoral gains of 1976 have evaporated and the Communists are left with little more than a quarter of the electorate, the same percentage as the protest vote they used to have in the 50s and 60s.

Three factors made the defeat particularly painful:

1 The results seem to confirm a depressing trend. Up to 1976 the PCI had always improved its vote; since then it has all been downhill. Was this the so-called 'French syndrome'? Was the Italian CP doomed to extinction?

2 The PCI's main rival and 'unofficial' enemy (the official one is the Christian Democratic Party, DC) – namely Craxi's Italian Socialist Party (PSI) – was the real victor of the elections: up 2.8% on 1983.

3 The PCI lost votes everywhere, but more in the prosperous and industrial north and in its strongholds of central Italy. The heaviest losses were registered in working class districts and among the young. The communist youth federation estimates a drop of 7% in the 18 to 25 age group. The party was not able to increase its vote among women in spite of an exceptionally large number of women candidates (one-third of the total). Nevertheless 60 of the 91 women elected in the two chambers (out of a total of 945) were on the Communist list.

The immediate consequence of the election was the end of the alliance formed last year at the party congress in Florence between the two tendencies in the PCI leadership: the right – led by Giorgio Napolitano (member of the secretariat and head of the international department) and Gerardo Chiaromonte (editor of the daily *L'Unità*) – and the 'majority' around the leader Alessandro Natta and Achille Occhetto.

The differences between the Right and the majority amount to this: the Right is convinced that it is necessary to establish a much closer relationship with Craxi's Socialists and that, to achieve this, the Communists should soften their opposition and tone down their attempts to represent politically the discontented and the marginalised (the bottom one-third of society).

The majority, led by Achille Occhetto, has always stressed that alliances must be constructed *around* a programme and not the other way round: the programme comes first. The Right has tended to give priority to alliances, particularly party political alliances. Behind this dispute there is a disagreement over what constitutes a programme.

For the majority, this is an organic set of radical reforms which must provide a real alternative to the hegemonic project of the present ruling bloc; for the Right a programme is what a left-oriented government should do here and now.

After the elections the party apparatus and a large section of the rank and file clamoured for dramatic changes. Some wanted a new leadership. Many thought that the internal compromise had paralysed the party. There was widespread dissatisfaction with the manifesto which many thought was obscure, vague and not credible enough. A meeting of the executive committee was convened towards the end of June. Natta (who is 70) offered his resignation. This was promptly rejected. He then suggested Occhetto (who is 51) as deputy leader (this is not an established office in the PCI), in practice designating him as his successor.

The 39-strong executive committee accepted the proposal against the opposition of Giorgio Napolitano and 10 other members. The following day Natta presented his report to a dramatic central committee meeting. He spoke for one hour. He stated the obvious. The PCI had not been able to aggregate those social forces which were hostile to the present government. In particular the party had not been able to provide leadership, its links with the working class had weakened, it had a decreasing percentage of the youth vote, etc.

There followed two days of intense discussions and breast beating. Over 100 of the 256 members present spoke. One of the leading rightists, Edoardo Perna, noted that the PCI lacked two essential elements: a general project of social change and a credible alliance system. Few disagreed with this.

Perna and, later, Napolitano warned the party to behave more as a 'party of government' and not just as a 'party of opposition'. 'We will not increase our strength' – declared Napolitano – 'if we persist in making vague or demagogic demands'. Behind the code words used the bones of contention emerged: the Right thought that too many energies had been used running after the votes of greens, gays, feminists, etc, and too few for a dialogue with those forces within the PSI who wanted to renew links with the PCI.

The polemic was fierce and Napolitano's offer to resign from the secretariat was soon followed by Aldo Tortorella's, chief architect of Occhetto's election. Tortorella argued that it was time for the generation which has hitherto run the party (all men bar one women – all in their sixties, like Napolitano and Tortorella himself) should give way to those in their forties (again mostly men – all products of 1968). The next central committee, convened for the end of July, will probably see the long-expected generational change in the leadership group.

The Right put up a good defence to no avail. The central committee accepted the designation of Occhetto as deputy leader by 194 votes against 41 with 22 abstensions. The era of unanimous

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

decisions in election for major party offices was over. Unless there is some mishap, Achille Occhetto will become leader in due time, the successor of Gramsci, Togliatti and Berlinguer. The day before an unprecedented headline had appeared on the front page of *L'Unità*: 'Political struggle within the Central Committee'. Finally *glasnost* had reached the PCI.

Understandably enough the central committee concentrated on the 'internal' causes of the defeat; that is, on what went wrong with the party's own performance. This is perhaps inevitable. It is easier to deal with what can be changed rather than the outside world. After a defeat it is particularly important not to appear disheartened. Something needs to be done. The rank and file is up in arms. The press recites (usually with unconcealed glee) the funeral oration. There is always the quite unfounded, yet consoling, assumption that a new leader and some changes in the programme will perform the long-awaited miracle: the electorate will see the truth, mend its perverse ways and, finally, vote for us.

However, there is also a reality out there and it happens to be a harsh one. A fuller analysis will have to bear in mind also the international political and economic conjuncture as well as the better performance of the opponents.

'Objective' factors associated with the restructuring of the international economy should not be left out of the discussion. It is not just the Italian Communist Party but virtually the whole of the European Left which is in disarray. The evidence is there for all to see: in the last 18 months the Left of the four core countries of Western Europe – West Germany, Great Britain, France and Italy – have been trounced at the elections. In tradition, political strategy, organisation and structure, the Labour Party, the French PS, the German SPD and the Italian Communist Party are very different. Yet they all lost.

Conversely, the 'enemy' has been able to offer to the majority of the electorate what *appear* to be adequate solutions to the problems of the present conjuncture. Somehow the British Conservatives, the German CDU, the French Gaullists and their allies and the Italian five-party coalition (but one should really say the PSI-DC axis) have managed to appear as if they 'fit' with the requirements of the modern era better than the Left. Paradoxically enough, the conservatives have shown that they are more 'modern' than the so-called progressive parties.

The question deserves a fuller treatment. Here we can only note that the international economic changes which have occurred in the 70s and 80s have brought about the end of national keynesian policies; that is of that compromise between capital and labour which had been the bedrock of progressive policies in Europe since the war.

In the new largely information-based post-industrial society, growth no longer entails more employment whilst the centre of gravity of manufacturing industry has shifted to Japan and its Asian satellites. The USA maintains technological, political and military supremacy while the European countries, bitterly divided among themselves (see the recent EEC economic summits), have no coherent set of policies.

With the possible exception of West Germany, the European states can no longer effectively control their currencies and have lost much of their economic sovereignty. Unable to escape the international rules of the game, they become increasingly interdependent and hence more constrained.

National roads to socialism, even social-democratic ones, are no longer feasible. Of course the Left can reject this and bang its head against the wall (as the French CP has been doing for years). Alternatively, instead of repeating the mistakes of the past, the Left could examine other yet untried solutions. These, however, require a change in the international rules of the game. This is both difficult and unprecedented. The Left would need to coordinate its efforts transnationally. It would need allies: the Third World and perhaps (but let's not count on it) a revitalised and reorganised Eastern bloc.

Others on the Left have learnt the game, accepted the constraints with more or less enthusiasm and achieved electoral successes: Gonzalez in Spain, Hawke in Australia, Lange in New Zealand, Craxi in Italy, etc. Whether all their policies can be depicted as socialist is more problematical.

But changing the international rules of the game is only part of the story. It is also necessary to accept the fact that the national game is altogether different. Within each nation-state similar structural changes are taking place. Social classes appear even more fragmented than in the past. Old class and local loyalties disappear at an increasingly fast rate. New social demands emerge all the time. To try to subsume everything under 'the hegemonic banner of the working class' seems to be rather unreal – not least because the banner is in shreds and the working class is (depending on your definition) decreasing in size or no longer a 'class' in any meaningful sense.

The PCI was among the first to say that the Left must adapt itself to changing realities, something which now has become a cliché. Unfortunately, it must be admitted that this prescience has not produced great results in the way of an analysis or a political strategy. Nor is there any evidence that the PCI has been able to become the rallying point of all those who are or might be, in their different ways, antagonistic to the system. In Italy, as in Britain and elsewhere, the Left has been outflanked and defeated by a political coalition which has been able to set the agenda and obtain the support of a significant section of the electorate. It is in this that the superiority of the opponents of the Left has been clearly established.

The analysis of the 'enemy' which this magazine has pioneered and which has become widely accepted, has great relevance for the rest of Europe because, for eight years now, this country has had the unenviable fate of having become the most important laboratory of the new Right in Europe. As usual one must beware the mechanical application of 'foreign' models because Thatcherism has uniquely British (or, rather, English) aspects. *Marxism Today*'s analysis would probably not have been possible without the assimilation of some aspects of the thoughts of Antonio Gramsci. It is time to repay the service – so to speak – and see what happens if we try to read Italian reality through our own experience.

'Bettino Craxi has succeeded where David Owen failed'

The chief achievement of Thatcherism has been to hold together a particular view of modernity (the ideology of get-rich-quick, look after number one, get the state off my back, let's stop drooling about the poor etc,) *and* the defence and upholding of traditional values, patriotism, nationalism, sexual morality, the family and law and order. So far this has 'worked' not only because of a favourable international conjuncture but also because the political economy of Thatcherism has gone *with the grain* of international tendencies and not against it. Furthermore the 'losers', ie, traditional manufacturing industry, public sector employees and welfare state dependents, have not been able to coalesce into a credible political alternative. Finally, the electoral system has worked in Thatcher's favour: it is possible to govern Britain, but not Italy, with 43% of the votes.

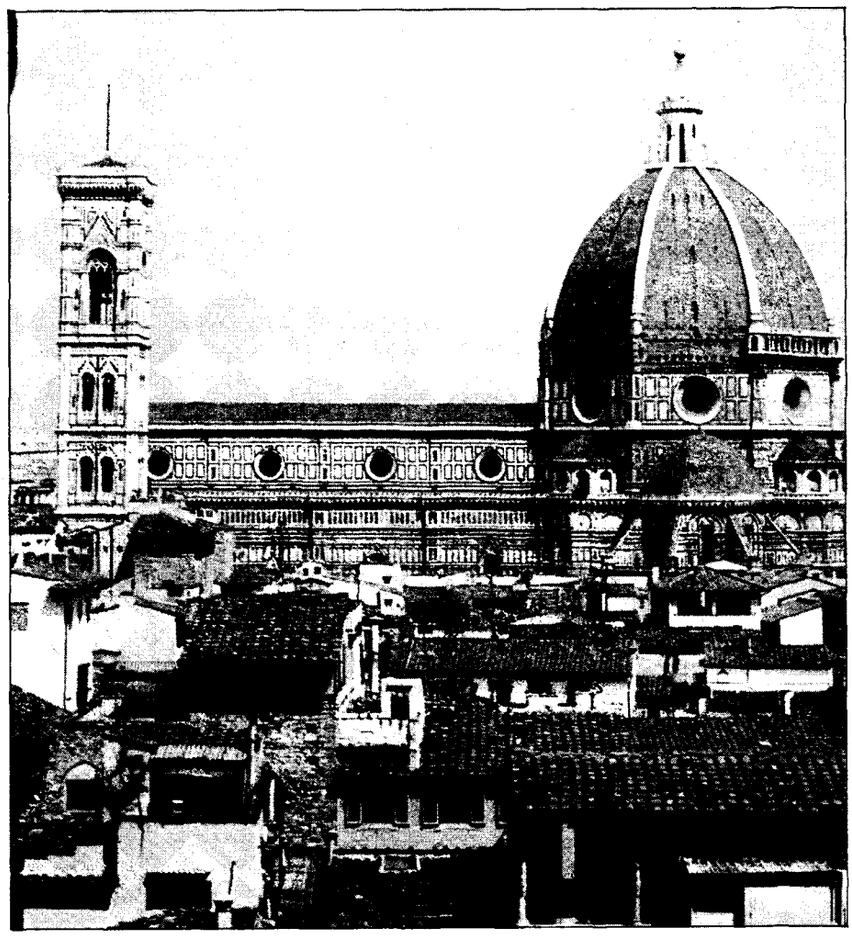
In Italy the project of the new Right could not be put into practice in the same way not only because of PR but also because Thatcherite anti-statism is extremely difficult for the DC (which owes its strength and electoral support to a complex system of patronage and to the uninhibited use of public spending).

Such was the imperative of modern policies of deregulation, however, that the Christian Democrats ran their entire campaign in 1983 under the banner of modernisation. They were trounced, with their share of the vote dropping by 6%. They learned their lesson this time. Modernisation was dropped. Traditional values were back. Campaign posters were filled with the pictures of contented and smiling children, all safe in the knowledge that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

National Unita Festival

Bologna, Parco Nord
29 August – 20 September 1987



GRAMSCI AND CULTURE

For 23 days this summer, Bologna will be the national and international focus of Italian politics and culture.

The Festa has been inspired by two events:

1) The 50th anniversary of the death of Gramsci.

2) The forthcoming 9th centenary of Bologna university.

These two events provide a historical background to discussions about the relationship between politics and culture, between freedom and social responsibility.

'UNITA' is set to become the foremost venue in Europe for political discussion and cultural activity.

The theme this year will be the role of the intellectual and the relationship with culture, political parties and society.

The 50th anniversary Festa is the ideal opportunity to concentrate on Gramsci's legacy and his influence on modern politics and culture. Discussion will centre on the man and his ideas; culture; the university; work; society; democracy; political parties and the developments of recent years.

'UNITA' is cosmopolitan, international and appeals to all generations.

A unique project.

This advertisement was placed by the Italian Communist Party

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Election Results of National Parties 1946-87 Percentage of vote (and number of seats)

(1946: Constituent Assembly; 1948-87: Chamber of Deputies)

	1946	1948	1953	1958	1963	1968	1972	1976	1979	1983	1987
PCI	18.96 (104)	31.03 (183)	22.64 (143)	22.73 (140)	25.31 (166)	26.96 (177)	27.21 (179)	34.4 (227)	30.4 (201)	29.9 (198)	26.6 (177)
PSI	20.72 (115)		12.73 (75)	14.26 (84)	13.87 (87)	14.51 (92)	9.63 (61)	9.7 (57)	9.8 (62)	11.4 (73)	14.3 (94)
PSDI	—	7.09 (33)	4.52 (19)	4.56 (22)	6.11 (33)		5.15 (29)	3.4 (15)	3.8 (20)	4.1 (23)	3.0 (17)
PRI	4.37 (23)	2.49 (9)	1.62 (5)	1.38 (6)	1.37 (6)	1.97 (9)	2.86 (15)	3.1 (14)	3.0 (16)	5.1 (29)	3.7 (21)
DC	35.18 (207)	48.48 (304)	40.08 (262)	42.35 (273)	38.27 (260)	39.09 (265)	38.74 (26½)	38.8 (263)	38.3 (262)	32.9 (225)	34.3 (234)
PLI	6.79 (41)	3.38 (19)	3.02 (13)	3.55 (17)	6.99 (39)	5.83 (31)	3.89 (20)	1.3 (5)	1.9 (9)	2.9 (16)	2.1 (11)
Monarchist	2.7 (16)	2.78 (14)	6.86 (40)	4.87 (25)	1.77 (8)	1.31 (6)	—	—	—	—	—
MSI	5.3 (30)	2.01 (6)	5.85 (29)	4.77 (24)	5.11 (27)	4.46 (24)	8.67 (56)	6.1 (35)	5.3 (30)	6.8 (42)	5.9 (35)
PR	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1.1 (4)	3.4 (18)	2.2 (11)	2.6 (13)
Leftists	—	—	—	—	—	—	1.33 (0)	1.5 (6)	2.2 (6)	1.5 (7)	1.7 (8)
PSIUP	—	—	—	—	—	4.46 (23)	1.95 (0)	—	—	—	—
Green	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2.5 (13)
Others	5.98	2.74	2.68	1.53	1.2	1.41	0.57	0.6	1.9	3.2	3.3 (7)
Turnout	89.1%	92.2%	93.8%	93.8%	92.9%	92.8%	93.1%	93.1%	90.1%	88.3%	88.7%

Notes: PCI-Communists; PSI-Socialists; DC-Christian Democrats; PSDI-Social-Democrats; PRI-Republicans; PLI-Liberals; MSI-neofascists; PR-Radicals.
In 1948 the PCI and the PSI fought the elections jointly and so did the PSI and the PSDI in 1968. The PSIUP was a split off from the PSI, it merged with the PCI in 1972.

the DC was, once again, looking after the family. Catholics were wooed once more. The church obliged by reminding people that the DC, mafia links and corruption notwithstanding, was still God's party. The six percentage points lost were not recovered, but there was a small gain, enough to save face and to face the victor, Bettino Craxi.

For Craxi and the Socialists modernity could be adopted without problems. In a few years it managed to get rid of what was left of its socialist heritage. It adopted the view that it was no longer possible to meet social needs through the intervention of the state. In a truly modern society, they claimed, the welfare state (always a ramshackle affair in Italy) could play but a decreasing role. To ensure 'governability' (Craxi's leading catchword) it is necessary to adapt to 'new realities' by abandoning the 19th century relics the Left has been encumbered with: expressions such as 'socialism', 'welfare state', 'labour movement', 'working class', 'equality', 'disarmament' etc, while the PSI virtually monopolised the concept of modernisation (though it is, in fact, modernisation without reforms).

In the name of modernity and 'new realities' it became possible to run the country in coalition with the Christian Democratic Party without being subordinated to them. Craxi never ceased attacking the DC and maintaining a high level of conflict within the coalition. The PSI succeeded in being both a party of opposition and a party of government, thus stealing the celebrated slogan of the PCI.

In Italy no single party could embrace both terms of the new credo of British Conservativism. In Britain Mrs Thatcher can do without David Owen for she can be both traditionalist and radical. In Italy the DC needs Craxi in order to govern and must compete with him and make concessions. Bettino Craxi has succeeded where David Owen failed.

In Italy there is the PSI for the modernists and the DC for the traditionalists. Together they define all that is 'possible'. There is no alternative. If you do not like the present system you can vote for what is impossible now, for what cannot govern, for those who will always be in opposition: for the Communists.

'After a defeat it is particularly important not to appear disheartened. Something needs to be done. The rank and file is up in arms. The press recites the funeral oration'

Why has this been allowed to happen? It is here that one must turn to the third aspect of the defeat: the PCI itself.

The origins of the defeat of the PCI can be found in the years following its greatest success: the general elections of 1976. Having reached its electoral peak under the banner of the 'historic compromise', it supported a Christian Democratic government until the end of 1978. In the space of three years the PCI lost some of the support and goodwill it had accumulated in the preceding five years. Communist leaders, such as Napolitano and Chiaromonte (who have both written their own account of that period) have accepted some of the blame, explaining that, though the Communists had a good programme, they were not able to implement it and that, though aware of the complexity of the situation, they were not really equipped to deal with it. The PCI had not been able to defend and protect all its own interest groups and had to be content with modifying the initiatives taken by the government. The policy of compromise had turned into a policy of subordination.

The PCI accepted the international rules of the game: inflation was enemy number one; to defeat it enormous sacrifices were necessary. A 'social contract' was drawn up: working-class austerity in exchange for defence of full employment and existing purchasing power. Yet, at the same time, it was believed that it was not possible to offer state-led economic growth. This, in the conditions prevailing then, meant no growth at all. Thus the working class had to tighten its belt now in exchange for the promise that, later, (much later), there would be growth. When growth eventually came Craxi was in power, the labour movement and the trade unions had been defeated and the ground was clear for 'modernisation without reforms'.

Readers old enough to remember a Labour government will perhaps recall that Healey's strategy in 1976-9 was similarly based on an 'exchange' with the labour movement: austerity (and unemployment) in order to win the battle against inflation and then, later, much later, social reforms. The symmetry between the vicissitudes of the various components of the European Left is profound.

In 1980 the historic compromise was abandoned in favour of the present ill-defined 'democratic alternative', widely interpreted as a sort of enlarged popular front. There was little chance of this happening, however, because the DC struck a deal with Craxi.

In exchange for key posts in the state machine and, after 1983, the prime ministership, Craxi broke his local government coalitions with the PCI in Italy's most important cities including Milan, Turin, Rome, Naples and Venice. The PCI was now excluded from local power as well as isolated at the centre.

Seen as an alliance strategy, the 'democratic alternative' was not very credible. What should have been the leading partner of this alliance, the PSI, which was profoundly disliked by the Communist rank and file, had taken a serious turn to the right, and inflicted major blows on the PCI.

The 'democratic alternative' never established itself at the centre of the political agenda as the historic compromise had done in 1973-76. More importantly the PCI did not succeed in establishing a wide enough network of social alliances which would have forced the PSI to change course. The inescapable fact is that what has for long been considered by many of us the most intelligent and forward-looking force in the European Left has been soundly beaten.

Soon a new generation will join Occhetto at the helm of what is still the largest CP in the West. These 68ers face the task of a major realignment of the Left. They have a lot of work in front of them. So do we. ●

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Hole In Labour's Heart

Labour fought a brilliant campaign on the grounds of compassion. **Robin Cook,** newly elected to the shadow cabinet and previously Labour's campaign organiser, argues it was the wrong ground

In one sense life was brigher last time round. The electoral results may have been even worse, but there was no shortage of alibis. The only problem in 1983 in analysing what went wrong was in marshalling all the ready explanations into an orderly queue. This time the major difficulty in explaining away our second crashing defeat is that we thought we had put right most of our mistakes.

The projection and presentation of our national campaign was outstanding. As in 1983, the nature of Labour's campaign itself became one of the principal stories of the election, but this time it was as an asset not as an albatross. To be sure, everyone can think of something that they would have done better if only they had been in charge, but it is difficult to conceive of a qualitative improvement on our presentation which would have produced a significant improvement in our vote.

Leadership we served up in lashings. If the electorate was looking for a model of dynamic, strong leadership, then we could supply the best model on the road. It is a striking tribute to the personal contribution of Neil Kinnock to our election campaign that he should have emerged from the party's defeat with greatly enhanced stature.

We talked about the issues that the electors wanted to hear about, or at any rate about the issues which they told our pollsters they wanted to hear about – jobs, health and education. We avoided the error of 1979 – 1983 when we talked mostly to ourselves about the issues which interested only ourselves – generally issues on which we disagreed since they made for more exciting internal debates and hang the electoral consequences.

Yet despite it all we went down to a defeat which can only be regarded as an advance when set against the abyss of 1983. We have also ended up with another four years of Mrs Thatcher. They, in turn, will have consequences which must be taken into the calculation of the electoral hurdle we must clear next time.

Some of those consequences can be predicted now. The culture of collective organisation at the workplace is likely to face fresh assault, and membership of trade unions presently affiliated to the Labour Party can be expected to diminish with further erosion of manufacturing employment. There will be a major assault on municipal housing which, unless successfully beaten off, will leave behind only the most deprived estates as public sector tenants. The trading elements of the public sector will be subject to further auctions, which will become increasingly desperate as the Treasury has committed itself to a reduced income tax base which cannot be sustained without annual revenue from sales. Private nuclear power stations and private prisons are now thinkable, however much our own imagination may reel at the thought.

Finally, we will witness concerted drives to break the universality (or near universality) of state education and the national health service, as a first step towards reducing both to the ghetto of a welfare service akin to the current prospects for public housing.

Not all of these changes will necessarily make Labour's task next time more difficult. Most of them will be accompanied by their quotient of pain and hardship which may strengthen our support. Yet even a brief contemplation of the probable changes in society before the next election demonstrates how hard Labour must run to catch up. There is not time to be lost disappearing up blind alleys.

One such blind alley is obsessional debate about how to perfect the Labour Party constitution. There is a danger that one response to defeat will be an engrossing debate on our internal procedures if only because we can do something about them and the Labour Party constitution is just about the only thing we can change while in opposition. Certainly there are changes to it that need to be made. One member one vote is an idea whose time has come and has the bonus that the debate over its introduction sharpens the faultline between the democratic Left and those who prefer their democracy to be centrally planned. Yet all such issues are the product of our own internal agenda and are of marginal significance to rebuilding our support among the electorate which overwhelmingly has only the haziest concept of Labour's constitution.

What then must we do? The central lesson to be absorbed is that we cannot win an election if we have lost the economic argument. We offered the electorate a choice between compassion and self-interest. It should not surprise us that when confronted with such a dichotomy there turned out to be more electors into self-interest than into altruism. What is surprising is that after eight years of crashing economic mismanagement we let the Tories pose

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as the party of economic self-interest.

The wilderness of those years is strewn with bleak monuments of economic failure. For the first time since the industrial revolution Britain imports more manufactured goods than it exports. We share with Iraq and Venezuela the dubious distinction of being the only countries which combine a surplus in oil with a deficit in visible trade. Industrial investment has shrunk to a new low water mark at which Britain has become the only OECD member in which plant and machinery is depreciating at a faster rate than their renewal. Training has been so neglected that we have achieved the obscene paradox of four million unemployed short of work while the advanced sectors of industry are short of skilled workers. There is something particularly apt in the nation's rejoicing in Richard Branson's rediscovery of the technology of the hot air balloon which provides a fitting emblem of where we are at.

None of this was successfully conveyed to the electorate in the course of our campaign. Our credentials to economic competence were consistently subordinated to our commitment to social justice. Even our package on jobs came across as a social policy designed to do something for the unemployed. We did not come across as a party with an economic programme tailored to making the economy stronger and its workers more prosperous. On the contrary, the very strength of our commitment to welfare gave rise to a corollary in the voters' minds that we were therefore weak on the hard-nosed economic issues. In a sense, we might be regarded as having fallen into the classic trap of a reformist party – presenting a series of discrete social policies without any underlying economic analysis to give them coherence.

There is of course a good alibi open to us. The gushing wealth of North Sea oil has submerged from sight the latent problems of the British economy. It has enabled the Treasury to fund the costs of mass unemployment while cutting personal taxation. It has plugged the growing gap in our manufactured trade. And it has supplied an easy and reliable supplement to national income. Only those who can peer below the surface can perceive the extent to which the opportunity has been squandered and foresee that our interlude as an oil exporting nation will leave behind an economy weakened, not strengthened, by the experience.

There is though a trap within the alibi. Repeatedly in the past month I have heard party colleagues taking solace in the comforting notion that as the tide of oil recedes and the problems become visible the electorate will turn to Labour for the solutions. There is a danger in this assumption that we merely perpetuate the equation of Labour governments with tough economic times and Conservative governments with bouts of hedonistic affluence. The electorate has no difficulty in associating Labour with lean times; the general folk memory is that Labour chancellors are psychologically most comfortable with policies to tighten belts. What the electorate doubts is whether Labour is really interested in managing affluence and promoting prosperity.

In a very real sense, this intuition of the electorate is perfectly sound. Labour *is* ambivalent about affluence. There are no rational or ideological grounds for this prejudice against affluence. As socialists we are obliged to believe that intervention in market forces and collective management of the economy will result in a more efficient allocation of resources. The outcome ought to be a society which is not only fairer to minorities but more prosperous for the majority. Nor do the parties of the Left in other countries share our hang-up in handling affluence. Scandinavia has long combined higher living standards with a dominant left of centre ethos.

The key task for Labour is to formulate an economic strategy that will sustain prosperity after the oil has run out and to convince the electorate of our credibility to implement it. That will require a more bold and imaginative package than the one we offered the electorate last time. However, the Left cannot palm responsibility for that package on to the Right who devised it. Since the alternative economic strategy collapsed amid the ruins of the industrial economy for which it was designed, the Left has been studiously uninterested in economic policy.

Instead, the Left's energy and creativity has been poured into identifying and responding to the needs of discriminated minorities. Much fresh policy has emerged from this investment of effort but, in a curious way, the Left of the 80s has been guilty of the very crime of which we accused the revisionists of the 50s – of reducing socialism to a programme of redistribution and neglecting its central economic content. The present vacuum on economic strategy is the Left's opportunity to remedy that failing and develop the policies for prosperity which Labour will need to win next time.

In the meantime there is an obvious campaign priority for Labour on the theme of liberty. The unifying characteristic of the Tory programme for Thatcher's third term is its centralising tendency. Ironically it is not socialism that has promoted state powers in Britian, but the Conservative Party. All potential centres of resistance to the authority of the state are under assault – the trade union movement, local authorities, even the BBC. A revealing measure of the rapid rate at which the Conservatives have moved from distrust of state power to its abuse is supplied by their attitude to quangos.

'In one sense life was brighter last time round. The electoral results may have been even worse, but there was no shortage of alibis'

Before 1979 quangos were pilloried by the Conservative Right as unaccountable organisms which supplied the state with its ever-lengthening tentacles. Yet since then Mrs Thatcher's government has adopted quangos as a major lever for imposing her political programme, by ruthlessly packing them with her own people and by inventing new ones, often to take over powers previously accountable through elected local authorities. The only form of pluralism tolerated in Mrs Thatcher's vision of democracy is the quinquennial right of voters to re-elect her.

All of these trends run head-on against the prejudices of the electorate who have a healthy suspicion of the centralised state which might qualify them as unconscious Gramscians. Some of the most notable successes of the Left in public debate with Thatcherism have been when we have challenged her drift to authoritarianism – over the abolition of the GLC or the quashed attempt to eliminate union political funds. The culture of democracy is much more firmly established than any culture of collectivism among the working class and we would be prudent to build on it. An immediate task must be to wring recognition from even this government of the right of the Scottish people to an assembly which will give expression to their own electoral preferences.

Finally Labour must escape from the reactive role into which it has been painted by the skilful way in which Mrs Thatcher has restructured the political scene. It is Thatcherism, not socialism, which appears committed to the transformation of society. The corollary is that it is the labour movement, not the Conservative Party, which constantly surfaces to defend the status quo and vested interests under threat. The presentation of our social policy was strong and vigorous but essentially it added up to a promise to rebuild the welfare state of the postwar consensus. Where we offered improvements they were incremental rather than qualitative – more nursery places, more hospital beds, bigger pensions.

Nor were we helped by the image among the client groups of the welfare agencies which we had created. A key element in our failure to resist the Fowler offensive against social security was the impossibility of mobilising the vast army of claimants to defend a DHSS by which they felt oppressed rather than supported. Labour urgently needs new models of welfare provision which are accessible and responsive.

By 1991 half the electorate will have been born since the Attlee government fell and only pensioners will recall its election. We will not win mass backing on the basis of a commitment to restore its finest achievements. Labour will only win if it is seen to supply policies devised for British society as it will be in the next century and relevant to the economy we will inherit after a dozen years of Thatcherism. ●

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Women At War

The American poet and novelist **Marge Piercy** (below) is best known in Britain for her fiction, notably *Woman on the Edge of Time*, *Vida* and *Braided Lives*. In her prose, Piercy writes about the history of postwar feminism in relation to other radical social movements in the United States. **Maria Lauret** and **Cora Kaplan** talked to her about her latest novel, *Gone to Soldiers*, which covers the second world war

Marge, why did you want to write about the second world war?
I have always, since childhood, intended to write a novel about the second world war, or if not since childhood, certainly since I envisioned novels. It was a question of when I could commence the writing and when I felt empowered enough to be able to do it.

My impression is that it is also the first time that you have really written as a Jew.
I have written a lot of poetry as a Jew and I have used Jewish themes in *Braided Lives* and *Small Changes*. This novel is particularly Jewish, but no more so than my poetry. In fact, some of my poetry is used ritually, at least in the States.

I think it is because I am a Jew that the second world war is something I'd have, at some time, come to deal with. It is a prime of life, necessary activity. It is an enormous object that lies athwart my childhood.

It changed the world so much and we are still living with and living out the consequences. I think it is a good idea to try to understand just how much it changed.

What kind of readership did you have in mind when you were writing the novel? Your peers, or rather younger people?
I am always delighted when people who have lived through the war tell me how it brings back memories, how it makes very vivid that time of their lives. But yes, in truth the novel was written for a younger readership, for people who weren't alive then and who don't know what all the fuss was about.

I was interested in exploring an alternative notion of courage. The current notion of courage, certainly in the United States, is very macho – it's Rambo and atomic weapons, large countries stamping on small countries. I was interested in exploring a kind of courage that is more responsible, more female-centred, more aware of consequences, more integrated into a total set of values. This kind of courage is explored through many of the characters in the book.

There *were* an enormous number of women involved in the resistance. Their stories, of course, are largely untold. Most couriers were women in the European resistance. And there was an enormous amount of Jewish resistance, which tends to get buried.

And I was interested in the growth of the character of Jacqueline, from a very spoilt child – not spoilt in a financial sense, but as an adolescent who finds everyone else really stupid and who spouts rather empty idealistic ideas, who has an identity that is not real – into a woman who saves a lot of lives. There were many people who went through that growth during the war.

So part of it is not to see Jews, and particularly women, as mere victims – as part of that mythology about Jewish victimhood?
There certainly were many many victims, but they should not be seen as *passive* victims. In certain circumstances, dying well, or as well as you can, or simply dying, is all you can do. The exercise of free will in that context is a fairly silly idea. There is a kind of courage, I think, which the women displayed under concentration camp circumstances. They did not allow themselves to be as readily turned against each other or as readily stripped of their social values, their social cohesion, as men did. They often formed artificial mother-daughter-sister relationships.

You say in your afterword to the novel that you would have liked to include the Soviet Union in the book, but that you lacked the resources to do so.
What women were allowed to do in the Soviet Union was even more extraordinary than it was in the United States. Women ran the factories as well as working in them. The women who fought in battle were much decorated. There were women sharpshooters and the pilots flew in both fighter and bomber squadrons. What was won and what was lost there was part of my original plan for the book, but I had to abandon it fairly early on.

Why do you think you were not able to get the resources?
I'm not a writer that receives prizes or grants; it's the general political climate. I'm an uppity working-class woman who writes about people who aren't terribly well liked by the powers-that-be. I am not part of the old boys' network. My books really aren't very 'nice'.

Did you include some of your own family history in the book?
Everybody in my family and everybody in the neighbourhood – a working-class neighbourhood – was involved in the war. I grew up in Detroit where a certain amount of the book is set. The war changed everything. Suddenly my brother had a job, my father was working overtime, we were having chicken once in a while, money was coming in. Everything was suddenly better. That was one of the things the war meant in America – very different from the way it was in Europe. It was the first time that the American working class, certainly since the 20s, set their sights on how life might be different. You might have a lot of things that you thought you could not have.

Were there things about the experience of women in the war that led to a later involvement in feminism?
Absolutely. One of the reasons why feminism touched so many women in the States is that there had been the war experience.

In the novel, Bernice, whose life is so shut down, is enormously empowered. Before, her ambition was perhaps at most to be a commercial pilot or to teach flying. She ends up flying bomber planes, pursuit planes, the most advanced planes that existed at the time, which most men aren't allowed to fly. She is able to find her own sexuality – which is another thing that happened during the war. There was an immense opening up of possible varieties of sexual experiences.

Another example: Ruthie, who has been kept, by anti-semitism, in poverty, is able to move up to a better job and to afford the education she has not been allowed to get before. Louise, a very

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

intelligent woman who just cannot express her intelligence in the kind of writing that is permissible to women at the time, is able to push beyond that for a period of time and becomes a war correspondent. By the end of the war of course all these avenues have been closed down. Rena, a black woman, who was a welder during the war, is pushed back into being a maid. In terms of earning power, number of hours you work, treatment, everything, that is an enormous class drop. All the women are forced out of the factory and the union doesn't stand up for them.

But when those women were pushed back, the memories and the knowledge of their own competence didn't go away. Many of those women – I talked to some women who flew bombers for the WASPS – reminded me of the way men talk. The high point in their lives was being in combat. You got this sense that there had been a time when they had been truly one hundred per cent alive.

That is also the impression you get from the women who were interviewed in the film *Rosie the Riveter*.

Yes. It doesn't go away. I also want women to understand the kind of social manipulation that governments mobilise at times when women make economic demands which begin to impinge in certain ways.

***Braided Lives*, compared to all this, seemed like the beginning of a new Dark Ages.**

Yes. After the war there was a successful counter-revolution, obviously. I wanted to go back to where it all started and why such a counter-revolution was necessary.

And then again we have had the upsurge of second wave feminism and the attempt to push that all back again. The magazines fill up with stories and you get, for instance, the great pursuit of thinness, as at the moment, designed to make women ashamed of their flesh, ashamed of being women, ashamed of female bodies, ashamed of occupying space, ashamed of eating food, ashamed of being physical.

Earlier you talked about how the second world war changed everything and how we are still living with the consequences. Could you say more about that?

Gone To Soldiers covers an era when fascist groups were very powerful and active and might have done in the United States what they did in Germany. This is another period of time in which the Right is very active and powerful in the US. Groups like Aryan Nation and the Far Right are armed and dangerous.

The United States now is used to being a world power, *the* world power, as Britain was before the war. Yet when the Dutch army surrendered in 1940, the American army was only number 17 in terms of world military strength. The cost of this military power for the working population is growing, particularly for most women, working women and women living alone with children. There is what we call the feminisation of poverty in the United States.

There was a time when we did not have a military-industrial complex. The term was invented by Eisenhower when he was president to describe a new phenomenon. Nor did we have a vast intelligence apparatus. It is hard to say that you get better intelligence now than you did when there were seven guys in a basement doing decrypts. It was certainly a lot cheaper!

People always think the nuclear family means mummy-daddy-baby living in a detached house in the suburbs. It is a Flintstones image of reality. Such ahistorical notions of the world are very dangerous.

Did you include the European theatre of the war to bring a sense of 'the world' into the novel?

Yes. I could have written it entirely in terms of the United States but, if anything, I had even more global concerns originally. I also wanted to deal with the difference between a war that is fought abroad and a war that is fought in your own country, an experience that Americans do not understand even today. I wanted to make that real.

The revisionism that has been going on for some years now about Vietnam is a good example. There was an attempt to make it into a 'good war' in the sense that the second world war probably was a 'good war'. Finally the experiences of the returning vets and the nurses and so on are coming out. *Platoon* as a movie is very important in the States because kids are seeing it and saying 'oh, war isn't like *Rambo*!'; 'is that what war is really like?'. But still the books and movies are all about the anguish of Americans fighting in somebody else's country. There are no Vietnamese in them, there is no understanding that there were people living there. It is not even in the imagination yet.

There is also an historical understanding that what happened to men during the Vietnam war wasn't especially because there wasn't support at home. The guys came back just as nutty from the second world war. There are certain kinds of fighting that change people; it is not something that any amount of rhetoric, propaganda or support at home can change.

Can you say more about the opening up of a diversity of sexual experience during the war?

There was in fact a lot of sex during the war. Somebody said Abra, one of the characters in the book, appears much too free for a woman of her time, but that isn't true. I interviewed a lot of women about what it was like to be around on the Left in New York in those days. People always think that their own generation invented sex! Women did things they were not supposed to do: they went into bars, they smoked and picked men up on the streets. If you read the contemporary papers there was a lot of concern about the morality of women.

It was also one of the first times in the States when gay men and lesbians could find sex partnerships openly; gay subcultures were burgeoning in the cities. At that time the butch and femme roles were not degrading in the way that we look upon them now; it was simply the only way you could identify yourself. It is something you cannot understand if you cannot see it in context. You look at the photographs and you have to imagine how strong it made them feel.

'I'm an uppity working-class woman who writes about people who aren't well liked by the powers-that-be'

What are your thoughts on feminism in the 80s and the possibilities of writing about it now?

It is a very hard time. Anything labelled feminist is automatically ghettoed off. We tried to experiment with new consciousness-raising groups but we had to rename them 'women's support groups'. The media really have done a tremendous job in persuading people that feminism can actually damage them somehow, instead of women's groups being a place where you get your strength. The need to find new ways of saying things, of finding a way around the barriers that have been erected, is very strong. Unless you can do that, you will not be heard.

What is your next project?

It is an anthology of women poets to be published simultaneously in Britain and the United States. I have selected about 60, some of whom are very well known. But about 50 of them probably aren't even known here yet and some are totally unknown in the United States. It was a lot of fun to do, but an enormous project. You really get an idea, as you are working on such a book, of the cost of racism. So often I ran across disasters striking Third World women. I was in correspondence with 60 poets at once; many of them had moved so many times that I could not track them down. The anthology will include a lot of black and native American poets. Some of the strongest poetry is native American, like Joy Hardjo and Linda Hogan.

There will also be a new volume of my poetry that will be published in the spring in the States. I just finished putting it together. It's a book I like a whole lot.

Is there another big novel coming up?

Not big. The next novel is going to be small and it is going to happen right now, right where I live. It will be set on Cape Cod with a fairly small complex of concerns; mostly about human relationships, the destructive forces of certain types of media-generated consumer and success fantasies that can cost lives. ●

Gone to Soldiers is published in hardback by Michael Joseph at £10.95.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTS ALIVE

MT ADVERTISING WORKS ● CLUBBING ● MUSIC ● THEATRE ● FASHION ● RING MALCOLM 01-608 0265

The South Bank Board JAZZ with SERVICES

Summerscope

Jazz week

24th-29th AUG

Azimuth — Human Chain — Mon 24 · 8 pm · £3.50
Peter King Quintet — The Dave O'Higgins Quintet — Tue 25 · 8 pm · £3.50
Steve Williamson Quintet — Mervyn Africa — Wed 26 · 8 pm · £3.50
First House — Evan Parker — Thur 27 · 8 pm · £3.50

Purcell Room

WATERLOO/EMBANKMENT B.O.: 01-928 3191 C.C.: 01-928 8800

reductions for students/UB40

Itchy Fingers — Julian Arguelles & Simon Purcell Group — Fri 28 · 8 pm · £3.50
Stan Tracey — Sat 29 · 8.30 pm · £4.50

Room

THE SOUTH BANK CENTRE

The National Studio for Electronic Music on the South Bank presents

Summerscope

ELECTRIC WEEKEND

Friday 11, Saturday 12 and Sunday 13 September 1987

A major showcase of electro-acoustic music
ELECTRIC PHOENIX
PHILIP MEAD
LONDON SINFONIETTA & VOICES
JONATHAN HARVEY
TRISTAN MURAIL
AND OTHERS

Plus talks and discussions and a personal appearance of
MARCO STROPPA

QUEEN ELIZABETH HALL & PURCELL ROOM,
Seats £2.00-£8.00 (Weekend Ticket £20 (£12.50 students)
B.O. 01-928 3191 C.C. 01-928 8800

London accommodation problems?
If you want b&b within walking distance of the concert we have a special deal with Surrey Lodge Hall.
Single Room per night £14.85/Double £25.20
Book when you phone for tickets 01-921 0651

HONEST JON'S RECORDS
MORE THAN A JAZZ SHOP

Where else would you find a Top 20 like this?

1. Ornette Coleman...In all languages (2 LP) £14.99
2. Roy Ayers/Fela Kuti...2000 Blacks got to be free – £7.40
3. Poncho Sanchez...Papa Gata. £6.99
4. David Murray...Children. £6.45
5. Pat Metheny...Still Life. £6.40
6. Dexter Gordon...Doin' all right. £5.99
7. The Bhundu Boys...Tsvisnbodzemoto. £5.69
8. Michael Brecker...New LP. £6.40
9. Celia Cruz...Brilliant Best. £5.99
10. Miles Davis/Sonny Stitt...Live in Stockholm (2 LP). £13.99
11. Oye listen...Salsa compilation. £5.25
12. Yousou N'Dour...Nelson Mandela. £5.99
13. James Brown...In the jungle grove. (2 LP) £13.99
14. The Leaders...Mudfoot. £6.99
15. Eric B/Rakim...Paid in Full. (import) £9.99
16. Chic Corea...Light years. £6.99
17. Vaneese Thomas...Just Vaneese. (import) £9.99
18. Regina Bell...No more tears. £5.99
19. Art Pepper...Modern Art. £8.99
20. Betty Carter...Out there. £8.99

As well as a huge selection of jazz – including 100s of rare items – we also cover LATIN, AFRICAN, SOUL, R'n'B, REGGAE and ROCK in depth.

So come to HJs in Portobello Rd – our eclecticism will stagger you!

P+P for one LP = £1,
for each additional record, 50p.
send s.a.e. for huge list of jazz or C.D.

HONEST JONS RECORDS
278 Portobello Rd, London W10 5TE.
Tel: 01–969 9822

Ladbroke Grove Tube, then 2 mins walk down Cambridge Gdns.
Access, Barclaycard, American Express accepted

THE ALBANY EMPIRE

London International Festival of Theatre '87
Information: 01-379-0769

From Nigeria
KUFENA
in NEW EARTH

A stunning display of Africa's most dramatic ritual dances and drumming
Tues 21-Sun 26 July, 8pm

From South Africa
VUSISIZWE PLAYERS
in YOU STRIKE THE WOMAN, YOU STRIKE THE ROCK

'Powerful and riveting theatre. It should not be missed.'
Tues 28 July-Sun 2 August, 8pm

DOUGLAS WAY, LONDON SE8 4AG Box Office: 01 691 3333

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ageless Edinburgh

The Edinburgh Festival, August 7-29, celebrates its 40th birthday this year and is showing no signs of ageing. Community centres, art galleries, church halls, scout huts, even the pavements are preparing for the onslaught of the biggest festival the city has ever seen.

The catalogue of theatre, comedy, music and film is thicker than ever before and this year the 6,000 artists and 1,005 shows are expected to attract some 200,000 people. The traditional Tattoo and the 22 versions of Shakespeare stand happily next to the more bizarre Bach with holograms.

Edinburgh continues to set the tone of what we see at the theatre and on television when we get home, as the influence of the style and presentation of the official, Fringe, music, film and video festivals filters down through the system and through the country.

In this Channel 5 special supplement, *Marxism Today* looks at the wider issues of the Festival, the fun and the funding. Is Edinburgh truly 'popular' and rooted in the city?

The guide includes a discussion between David Edgar and the new head of the National Theatre, Richard Eyre, and suggests places to eat and sleep in the city if you have the time, how to get around and what to see in the pick of the best at the fest. ●

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Street scene: part of the anarchy of Edinburgh

Come To The Cabaret

In August 1947 the Arts Council was barely a year old; there was no National Theatre or, as we recognise it now, Royal Shakespeare Company; regional rep was a virtually unsubsidised affair with actors appearing in one play, rehearsing another and reading a third all in the same week. Despite the post-war appetite for entertainment the commercial touring theatre was on the brink of terminal decline, and despite the efforts in London of the Old Vic and Arts theatres, the British arts sometimes seemed to echo the British people: tired, thin, wan, apprehensive, ground down by rationing and penny-pinching.

This was a Britain that needed the Edinburgh International Festival, whether it knew it or not. And though the form has changed with the times, that need has survived the decades of relative affluence in British arts matters into the era of the new austerity. But there is a three-way tension within that need. For a Britain becoming a giant service industry, the festival attracts tourists and foreign currency; for those making money out of the Thatcher 'revolution' a festival is a classy way to spend it; for the victims of that revolution the arts can offer at worst a relief and at best an inspirational alternative to a duller, more painful and more demoralising life.

And then there's a further tension that imposes itself with geometric neatness upon that three-way pull: the tension between those who seek the highest standards of art-for-art's sake and those who care less about the quality than the innovative, political or social credentials of the work. With audiences, administrators and artists alike tugging in (at least) six directions, any attempt to define the relationship between the two sides of the Edinburgh Festival – the official festival and the Fringe – is doomed to over-simplification. But here goes anyway.

There are various myths about the Fringe. One is that it all started in the 60s. In fact it was there from 1947, though the name 'Fringe' was only coined later. Another is that it is the only place where you expect to see new work during the Festival. Not true. Plays by T S Eliot, Thornton Wilder and Charles Morgan all had their premieres in the early days of the official festival. But, in the 60s, Tom Stoppard's *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead* was premiered on the Fringe by Oxford students, and soon afterwards was presented by the National Theatre. Not only a myth but a kind of emblem of Fringe creative potential was born with it.

Still, it is no coincidence that the official festival has always done best at music, whereas the Fringe has always been dominated by the English language.

Music suits the official festival because it travels well and because any controversy associated with it is not to do with sex or violence or politics; it is usually to do with whether this year's visiting opera company from Germany or the Soviet Union has in fact sent a scrappy old production with second-string casts and shoe-horned it into the too-small Kings Theatre to miserable effect, and should we go on pretending that it's the greatest experience the arts world has to offer?

In contrast, language suits the Fringe because one actor talking is the most flexible, portable, stageable event there is. In the last few years, the Edinburgh Fringe diary has, accordingly, run to a total number of around 1,000 productions in three weeks. Critics, who can see perhaps a twentieth of them, are the most vociferous in their claims that it has got out of hand.

I go there every year and am quite glad it is now out of hand. When you cannot see everything, the pressure to be definitive about what is best is removed because it is impossible. Also it restores some of the anarchy and accessibility which is one of the points of the Fringe.

Consequently there are now at least two Fringes hosting over 1,000 different shows this year: an official one and a true one. The official one consists of some unlikely assorted Fringe barons – various churches, established arts centres, plus the new entrepreneurs of radical chic showbiz – whose venues are near the city centre and in high demand. To appear here you have to assemble four-figure sums of money before you consider the cost of living in Edinburgh and the actual cost of the production. You have to achieve a standard which can be vetted. It helps if you are famous. This is where, in recent years, the better-known alternative comedians have tried out their new acts and where the new play from John Godber at Hull Truck will be seen. But also, in official venues like the Traverse Theatre, this is the likeliest emergence-point of the new playwrights – especially the Scottish-based ones like Peter Arnott, Chris Hannan, Liz Lochead and John Clifford.

Out of town, playing to three people and a wet dog in a student production of something Polish, remains a lottery – perhaps becomes more of one because the popular focus and the media interest is elsewhere. It isn't always radical – amateur productions of Alan Ayckbourn's plays happen on the Fringe – and when it is it can be silly, like the man who drank all night and peed all night on to perspex (I'm simplifying shamefully) and called it music!

Why go back, year after year? Because the jamboree asserts the importance and vitality of the arts. Because the resulting maelstrom of audiences and performers from every sector of the community and from almost all over the world lowers barriers for three weeks and puts us all into the same club for which there is no financial, social or qualitative condition of membership. And because this is still where you are most likely to turn a corner and bump into something exciting and hitherto unthinkable. ●

Paul Allen

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Art For City's Sake

Anyone looking for a prime example of the strange position the 'high arts' occupy in our society ought to ponder the relationship between the city of Edinburgh and the Festival which bears its name. On the one hand, the Festival is internationally recognised and revered as a fantastic success, the first and still the most famous of all the international arts festivals that have sprung up in the postwar era.

On the other hand, there is a sense in which the success is illusory, its roots dangerously shallow. Edinburgh is a city of half-a-million souls, and a notoriously divided one. For every citizen who buys tickets for Festival events, there must be at least half-a-dozen to whom the whole thing means nothing except endless traffic jams and unbearably crowded Princes Street shops; to those isolated in the city's grimmer peripheral housing estates, it means even less than that.

It goes without saying that this combination of minority appeal and massive public support makes the Festival tremendously vulnerable, and since Edinburgh's first-ever Labour administration took control of the city purse-strings three years ago, the tensions have become both more acute and more overt.

It's not that the City Fathers have traditionally offered anything more than grudging support to the Festival.

But with the coming of 'red Edinburgh', and a whole swathe of young councillors representing those citizens of Edinburgh who traditionally benefited least from the Festival, apathy has been replaced by some outright criticism and a strong push for change. The Festival was perceived – with a grain of justice – as a posh, exclusive and intimidating affair, full of high-falutin events attended by people sporting dinner jackets and alarming English accents (a fatal class marker in Scotland, where people with social and professional aspirations still tend to shed their Scots accents as fast as possible). The Festival Society – the influential group which elects a large proportion of the members of the Festival's governing council – was rightly identified as a self-perpetuating oligarchy of a very odd kind, and membership has been opened to the general public. In the meantime, the city began to use its muscle as a major funding body, and in 1986 it actually 'earmarked' £80,000 of its £553,000 grant to the Festival, insisting that it be used to mount a 'community programme' designed to make the festival more accessible to all the people of the city.

It was at this point that massive confusion and reaction set in, in a situation that reflected all sorts of classic conflicts in British arts in the 1980s. To start with, the district council and its supporters had only the vaguest idea of what they meant by a 'community' programme; one sympathetic member of the Festival council identifies at least four strands of thought about what might be required, ranging from an outright workerist hostility to the whole idea of an international Festival, through the more enlightened/reformist attitude of Edinburgh's dominant 'cuddly left', to the entertainment union BETA's notion that the Festival should undertake radical education work in the city throughout the year in order to generate support and enthusiasm for the city-centre events when they arrive; and that's to say nothing of the sound and fury of the community art workers' lobby, with its competing orthodoxies and demands for more geographical outreach.

To say that the Festival's response to all this has been half-hearted would be an understatement. Egged on by an Edinburgh establishment hostile to the district council and all its works, the Festival administration has allowed barely-accurate allegations about massive cuts in their funding to be bandied around in the media, and has managed to convince large swathes of Edinburgh society that the wild men of the Left are out to destroy the Festival root and branch – and this despite the fact that the present director, Frank Dunlop, is a natural populist with a strong dislike of cultural snobbery and some distinctly downmarket tastes. In theory, there should be very little difficulty in aligning Dunlop's apolitical urge to widen the Festival's audience – and make it as unstuffy as possible – with the district council's wish that it should make itself more accessible to the mass of Edinburgh people. But in practice, any such fruitful collaboration has so far been frustrated by a bullying lack of tact on one side, and, on the side of the Festival establishment, by a mixture of apathy, snobbishness, and thinly-veiled political hostility that Dunlop has done little to resist.

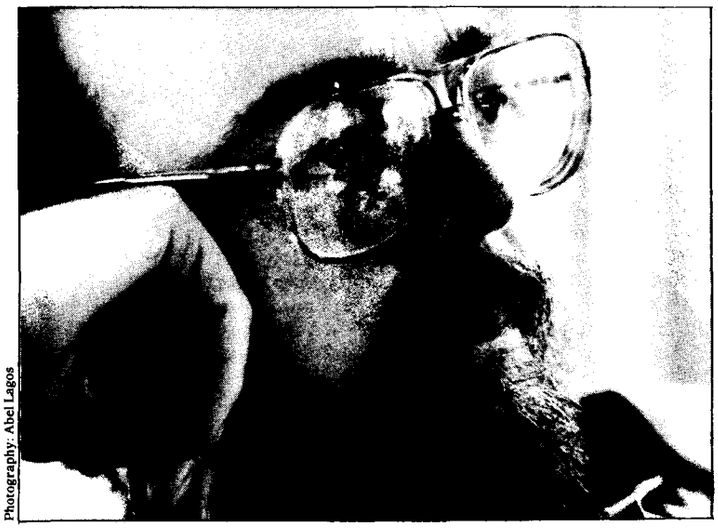
The results of all this would be comic if they hadn't been so damaging to the idea of developing and revitalising the Festival audience. In 1985, there was the farcical episode of the world-famous clown with limited English who arrived at some community hall in a downbeat area of Edinburgh prepared to give a performance, only to discover that he was expected to do a 'workshop' with 20 screaming kids; he left. In 1986, the festival hired a community events director, and spent its earmarked £80,000 on a strange grey dome-shaped tent set up in the city's Pilrig Park (uncomfortably placed half-way between the city centre and the port of Leith), and on events of a vaguely 'popular' nature – half-baked circus and the like – to appear in it. A combination of bad siting, bad publicity, bad-quality performance and cold weather turned the Dome into one of the Festival's great disasters, an object lesson in how not to integrate a sensible element of 'outreach' work into the programme. This year, having made two de-signed-to-fail attempts at community programming, the Festival has budgeted for a £100,000 deficit and more or less told the council to keep the disputed money; in reality, it will probably be used, in the end, to bridge the projected gap between income and expenditure.

It's unlikely, though, that Edinburgh's Labour administration – for as long as it lasts – will give up on its attempts to shake the Festival out of its comfortable, upmarket mould. The Festival establishment may well believe that the funding bodies should simply hand over the money and leave them to it, so obvious is the success of the Festival and its commercial importance to the city. But with an increasing number of Labour politicians taking a personal interest in the arts – and with arts policy acquiring a steadily higher political profile – there's very little chance of the council reverting to such a ruthlessly pragmatic and philistine view of the Festival; if councillors believe the arts are important, then they're going to want to know that the arts events they fund give some real pleasure and enrichment to the majority of their constituents, and the Festival may have to learn to live with that level of interest and interference. ●

Joyce McMillan

'High art': Brecht at the festival

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Photography: Abel Lagos

Edgar: British theatre seems to be formally backward

National Characteristics

Next month Richard Eyre takes over from Sir Peter Hall as director of the National Theatre. Playwright David Edgar talks to him about his past successes, which include directing *The Ploughman's Lunch*, the position of theatre in the 80s and the future he would like to see for one of our most important national institutions.

One of the great conscience moments of the 80s was Peter Hall's finally deciding to vote Tory. Obviously he has changed his views somewhat. You have described yourself as a self-professed utopian idealist. Do you think that after two years at the National your politics will notice? And would you indeed like them to notice?

Well, does it notice in the work of the present National Theatre that the director voted Tory?

I think it does. For example, I thought in *The Oresteia* it noticed very clearly that there was a director who saw the play in a particular way as being about the birth of certain liberal humanistic values and a writer who saw the play in a very different way as being about the ending of a certain sort of society – a matriarchal rather than a patriarchal society. That tension was very interesting and one that did arise out of Hall's personality.

The answer to your question is 'yes.' I can see that you *can* run the theatre as a cultural supermarket. It is an option because the breadth of the product is so great that it would be possible to be immensely eclectic and for there to be no recognisable vision.

I do have a vision of what I would like the theatre to contain. If you ask 'what is it's political colour?' I see the work echoing the kind of ideological confusion that exists within politics as a whole, except on the broad Right where there is some kind of ideological homogeneity.

With hindsight, one of the follies of the 70s, was the belief that the theatre should be an active vehicle of political change. I am as guilty as you are of being party to what I regard as an arrogance – a belief that the theatre was an active agent of conversion. That has now been exposed as an adolescent folly. I must say that it is not a corollary to say: 'I believe in nothing now.'

Obviously what you say is true. But I'm not sure it is completely historical however. I mean Bernard Shaw said he thought the proper purpose of his art was to induce people to vote on the proper side in the forthcoming council elections. In the early 70s, there was a brief period where that was reinterpreted by the revolutionary Left as meaning that the purpose of art was to send people out on to the streets to build barricades. But I don't think that lasted very long, although there were groups that remained true to this belief.

It was about a 10 year period.

I believe that the theatre has more of a place in the construction of the national myth in England than it does in some other countries, perhaps America. And that has been won entirely by the work that has been produced over the last 30 years.

You could look at it a different way and say that Britain is inherently a theatrical country in the sense that what are left in terms of the national self-image are theatrical propositions: you know, Queen and country and trappings of empire.

The theatre is to do with the making of clear, explicit, metaphorical statements. And it has a unique ability to compress ideas into metaphors. To condense worlds into a stage.

But I want to return to the grandiosity with which the political theatre as a project has engaged since the 60s – whether or not the quality of the subsequent work owed a little to the grandiosity of that project.

There is obviously a lot of truth in that. Probably the most important legacy, apart from the memory of some very good work, is the idea that the theatre *really mattered*. And it mattered as much as life itself what you did in the theatre. Probably more than life itself, because as you felt that it was some kind of distillation of life and not just replicating life, it was actually demonstrating a way in which, directly or indirectly, life could be lived.

However, I don't experience a sense of despair about the medium today among my contemporaries. There have been times when people have said 'fuck the theatre', 'it is movies where the action really is'. More and more people are asking what it is that the theatre could provide that other mediums can't. It is expressive in ways that other mediums aren't. It is expressive visually and in terms of language. We are on the edge of an era where that expressiveness needs to be pushed way beyond the past mode of utilitarianism.

That obviously raises a crucial area of controversy. A few years ago you argued that the theatre should be about events, that the 70s minimalist school had outlived its usefulness and that the concern today with spectacle was by no means a bad thing. If one now looks around the theatre one doesn't see many repeats of *The Mysteries* or *Nicholas Nickleby* or *The Oresteia* or events that clearly would fulfil what you were talking about. All one sees instead are big musicals and musicals which are often more about technology than perhaps they are about the content.

I think it is only that you have become conscious of big musicals because people you know directed the odd musical. I know that Trevor Nunn has done several musicals, and I have done two, but Trevor has done countless productions of Shakespeare and Middleton and Turner and Webster, Restoration and Shaw. You have become aware of commercial theatre in a way that, 10 years ago, if I had asked you what was on in the West End, you wouldn't have known and you wouldn't have cared – you would actually have gloried in your ignorance of the commercial theatre.

The National has been successful, and arguably more successful than its main rivals, in providing a space for the 60s generation of writers with whom you have been associated. But it is generally held not to have been so successful in terms of bringing out new writers. What do you think you might want to do about this?

I would like to be able to provide a studio through which new writers can get access to a stage and can graduate from the studio to the Cottesloe Theatre. So I suppose there would be a closer relationship between

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the studio as a laboratory for new writers and the main theatres at the National.

One of the criticisms that is levelled at our lot, is that we are quite time-locked, that most of our creative obsessions are products of the 60s and 70s. I don't think that many of the people who came to prominence in the 70s – with the exception of Carol Churchill – are writing plays that you could say capture the 80s.

By contrast someone like Doug Lucie is very much an 80s writer. How do you feel about this problem, not just in terms of new plays, but in general, of writing characterised by the assumptions of a period. We assumed, for example, that there was no question of making society less equal. All of us found it something of a shock to be living in a universe where quite consistently, and over a long period of time, the reverse is happening. I am interested in how you address this problem in the theatre.

Whereas optimism of the will seemed sufficient in the 70s, I think we were generally rather short on analysis and long on encouragement. We have got to be long on analysis. That is what we were trying to do in *The Ploughman's Lunch:* give a sense of the tempo of the time. The cardinal emotion seemed to be one of public apathy.

It seemed to me that the problem with *The Ploughman's Lunch* was that somehow you had painfully accurately got all the shits worked out but you went fuzzy around the nice people.

How hard it is to write nice people! You can't see a clearer example of that than in *Pravda* where the relish with which Howard Brenton and David Hare were able to write the Murdoch character and the ease with which they were able to turn their hand to a loving depiction of evil is overpowering.

We have to find a tone of voice which is not a hard hearted one, which can embrace the satirical as well as the humane, but not see the two as mutually exclusive.

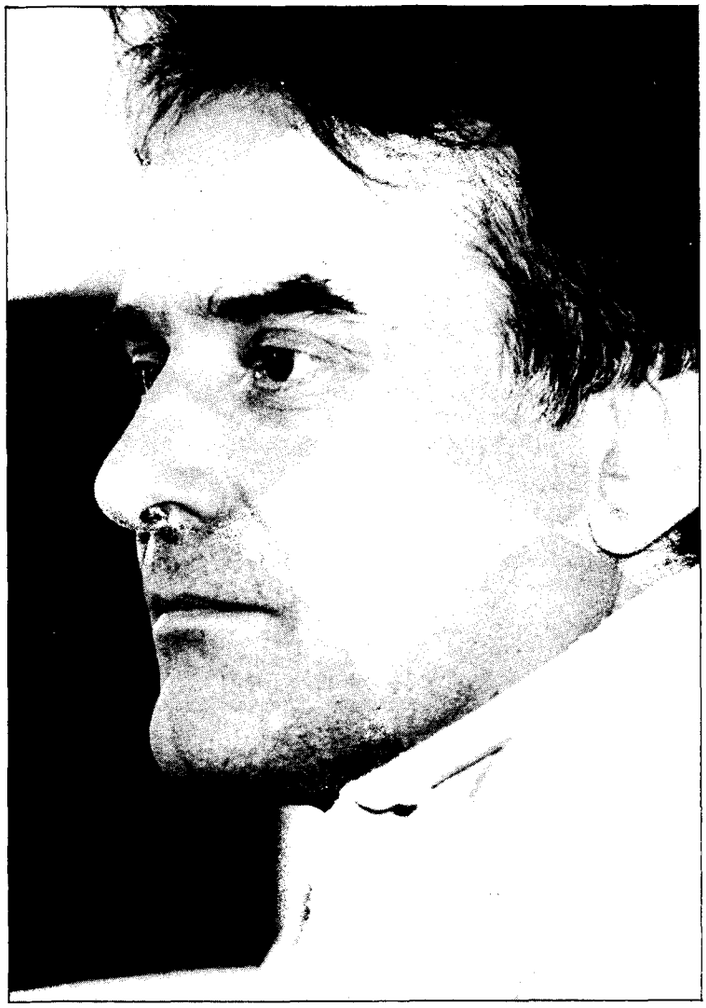
When Peter Hall originally brought the RSC to London, he did so with the conviction that new work and work about the contemporary world would be informed by, and would inform, the production of the classics. You presented a production of *Hamlet* which was deemed to be a Hamlet for the 80s. Did you proceed into that area with consciousness or do you think that is something that just happens?

Well I am violently antipathetic to productions of classics which use the classics as a text for a thesis. I hate the thesis production. This is partly a measure of what people imagine to be the spoilt currency of Shakespearean theatre. When I started work on *Hamlet* I came across Durer's picture of melancholy. It is of a young woman with long lank hair, sitting with her head sunk almost between her knees. It's an image of absolute despair surrounded by all the artefacts of Renaissance sciences – compasses, hour glasses and instruments. Total despair and inertia surrounded by the possibility of infinite knowledge.

It seemed to me that *Hamlet* was very much about somebody who was acquiring temporal and spiritual knowledge and then arrived at a point where he says 'the rest is silence'. This is not to say that 'I don't have anything to say because I am going to die' but rather 'I say this because I have a terrifying fear that there is nothing there.' There is just a huge blank wall. And then I read an essay by Günter Grass where he talked about what the 80s would be like. He said, 'if I wanted to describe to anyone my vision of the 80s, I would say, "look at Durer's picture of melancholy"'. This was as far as I got to thinking this is *Hamlet* of the 80s. It wasn't a conscious thing. But because it is a play teeming with ideas about why we are put on earth, how mankind functions socially, politically and emotionally, you can't but start thinking about how you function yourself. So it becomes a kind of metaphor for your own end.

Is that true of all classics?

Goethe said: 'I call classic what is healthy and romantic what is sick'. I suppose so, if what you mean by a classic is simply that it is something that has survived by constantly being voted for.



Eyre: We've got to be long on analysis

What you've said about Shakespeare productions sets you apart, as in other matters, from your continental colleagues to whom Shakespeare and other classics are seen as no more than starting blocks. It is also true that continental products tend to be more formally radical and indeed that, taken as a whole, continental playwriting seems to be more formally radical, more formally inventive and much more consciously addressing itself to the modernist project than work here. Do you regret that British theatre does seem to be rather formally backward?

Yes.

Do you think that there is anything that you can, or should, do about that?

I would like to see the theatre heading in a direction that was more expressive in all its modes rather than utilitarian.

Do you think it is possible to do that and still retain a commitment to the writing and the writer?

I do, but it needs the writer to be very closely involved with theatre making. I am actually going to be working with the writer Tony Harrison at the National. He will be the literary adviser at the theatre. He is quite an extraordinary writer.

Should the National, by virtue of its very name, be addressing the nation? Should it or should it not aspire to be some sort of centre of excellence?

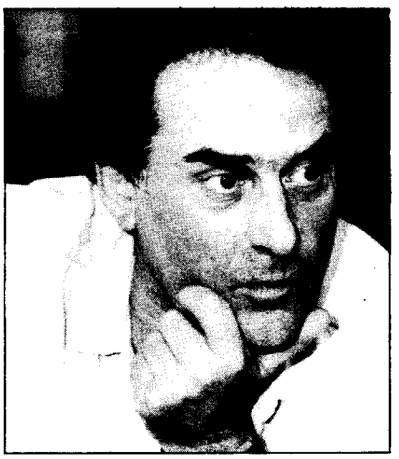
It has been cursed by its name. If you call something a national theatre there is no

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

way you can avoid it being regarded as some sort of microcosm of the nation's theatre. So there is an inherent obligation for it to be a centre of excellence, which is an expression which actually I find difficult because I hate bureaucracy in connection with the arts. On the other hand, if you believe as I do that subsidy is a natural right for cultural life and an obligation of governments to provide, then you have to engage with bureaucracy.

But do you think that the National should be a company that has a very specific notion of itself?

Inevitably there is going to be a catholicity of playing, of production, within an organisation that has three theatres. However much I want it, however much I have Byzantine notions of power and wanted to compress my single vision into the National Theatre, I couldn't do it over three theatres and many productions, over a year. What is most important is that the actual work produced is not only of technical quality, but is informed by imagination and vision.



But you are not saying that it is just another theatre?

No, I am saying that it is three theatres. That because it is three theatres, and because it is uniquely privileged by its position and its facilities and its grant and its ability to earn from its commercial exploitation, it is in a unique position. But on top of that, it needs to earn its singularity of privilege by the singularity of the work that goes on there.

Do you think that it has a responsibility to do Shakespeare for example?

Yes.

Would you be unhappy if it went for a year without doing a European classic?

Yes.

So there is a sense that it has a definite responsibility?

It has got to have more than monocular vision.

And do you think that also applies to style, to the sort of directors and actors that you would wish to employ?

Yes. I am suggesting that putting together the Olivier and the Cottesloe theatres, and running a company within them, allows for more homogeneity of style than may have existed in the past. But that is balanced against having a third theatre which allows for an extremely wide variety of style and content.

One obvious characteristic of the National is that it is in London, whereas much of the new exciting writing over the last 10 years has been from women, often from the provinces, though no longer living there, and the phenomenon of the northern writer. Do you see any way of the National plugging into what's happening outside London?

We hope to do co-productions with various regional theatres to show the work of these theatres in London and tour in the regions.

The National Theatre must be aware of its position – how it is regarded in the regions – and must be cautious and courteous about the way it carries on.

The other arena of exclusivity lies with the audience.

I certainly think it is none of my business to be the middle-class theatre director pontificating to working-class people about how they should conduct their lives. What I *am* in the business of doing is providing entertainment and an experience that I think should be accessible to everybody.

I don't believe, and I never really have believed, in accessibility being a matter of condescending to your audience by offering them Enid Blyton forms of adult entertainment. Some political theatre groups have been very guilty of that kind of condescension. It really gets up my nose. The National Theatre, as a public building, has to be made to seem more accessible. We have a terrible problem in this country, which you don't have in other European countries. In Italy you wander round cities and there is not that sense of the Italian working class being excluded from the cultural citadels.

The old idea, which was rather patronising, was that you had to take theatre out to working men's clubs because the proletariat would be embarrassed and they wouldn't know what to wear and they wouldn't know when to stand up and sit down and where to buy the tickets and all those deeply patronising beliefs. Do you think that the physical environment can be seen as alienating?

To some extent you are asking the National Theatre, which has the misfortune of being called the National Theatre, to cure the ills of our society. It seems to me that it is so deeply embedded and is to do with the whole history of the development of cultural life in this country along class lines. I just *do* think that the constituency of the National Theatre is narrow and wherever there is a production that has genuine popularity you don't find that the constituency widens downwards – it just widens horizontally.

So you don't think it would make a substantial difference to the social mix at the National Theatre to halve the prices?

I would love to halve the prices. It would make some difference but I would have absolutely no hope of convincing the Arts Council.

The old principle of subsidy was that you were subsidising consumption and not production – you were making the experience more widely available by making it cheaper. That idea seems to me to be among the many that have disappeared down the plug-hole. Do you think there is any way that the National and the comparable theatres could become cheaper?

Realistically, no. I think the pressures to become more pluralistic, to become a more mixed economy, are so strong; and it is not just the government acting as the wicked uncle.

What are the other factors?

The other factors are the conditions under which the Arts Council is going to pay grants in the future. You will have to be seen to be helping yourself. How many ways of helping yourself are there? We are being pushed into a position in which the only way you can reduce your seat prices would be to have a hugely successful show which you initiated, transferred under your own management, and then fed back all the profit directly into the theatre instead of going into future productions.

Do you see any justice in the argument that subsidy had over-shielded the national institutions from operating in the real world or indeed that they have been allowed to become self-indulgent artistically and over-secure? Is there anything in the brisk winds of competition that has been good for our theatre institutions?

No, I don't think so. It seems to me a slightly infantile view to believe that the threat of penury gets discipline in your art. I am not saying that a lot of money is equal to better art but I am saying that a poor theatre is not necessarily a good theatre.

The argument is that the theatre, particularly small-scale theatres, can easily become self-indulgent if they don't have to bother at all about attracting people to come and see productions.

But that is not true as we can see from the RSC and the National which budget on around 80% capacity, which is extremely high for any theatre – commercial or subsidised. I don't think there is a way of guarding against financial bankruptcy, as the experience of the RSC has shown. If there is one lesson to be learnt from looking at the theatre today it is that caution never pays off. Trying to second guess an audience *never* pays off. Bold, imaginative gestures are always the best. ●

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bulmershe Revival Theatre Company

THE MACHINE WRECKERS
by Ernst Toller
18th – 29th August
5.30pm

WINNERS
by Brian Friel
10th – 22nd August
12 noon

HERE TO STAY
by Julia Biggs
3.05 pm

WOMEN ALONE
by Dario Fo and Franca Rane
3.00 pm
alternately Aug 10 – 22nd

and also hosting a range of political theatre from Israel, USA and G.B.
All at Southside International, Venue 82 Edinburgh.
Telephone: 031 667 7375.

JIVING LINDY HOPPERS

'One of the most enjoyable dance groups in the country' Time Out

Aug 7-16 at the Gilded Balloon, Cowgate 1-2.30pm £3 (£2.50) in

EMOTIVE LOCOMOTION
with David Michelsen's Harmonica Ensemble

Aug 24-29 at the Mandela Theatre, 2-4 Abbeymount 7-9pm £3 (£2.50) in

142nd Street
the authentic jazz dance show.

CAMBRIDGE EXPERIMENTAL THEATRE

King Lear

by William Shakespeare

'As poignant as I have seen' Guardian

'A brilliant group' Radio Forth

Theatre ACT, 32 Broughton St, Edinburgh, (Venue 101)
9th–30th August (×17th & 24th)
1.50-3.45 pm
Advanced booking on 557 1785 & The Fringe Office

CITIZENS THEATRE

GORBALS · GLASGOW

"The most cosmopolitan, idiosyncratic, mischievous and wilful theatre in Britain."
The Observer

041 429 0022

AK:47 Theatre Cooperative

EDINBURGH FESTIVAL FRINGE
Mandela Theatre 17-29 August 1987
AK47 Theatre Co-operative presents

HEY NICARAGUA!

. . . written after six months experience in the war zone, Peter Campling's new play captures the culture, politics and music of the revolution in a moving, colourful, invigorating drama . . .

After the Festival this production is available for bookings.

369 GALLERY
CONTEMPORARY SCOTTISH ART

233 COWGATE, EDINBURGH EH1 1NQ. TEL: 031-225 3013

MOSCOW – A PRIVATE VIEW
CONTEMPORARY SOVIET PAINTING
8th – 29th August 1987
Exhibition sponsored by the Daily Record & the S.T.U.C.

CONTINUING THE TRADITION
TWENTIETH CENTURY SCOTTISH PAINTING
Until 26th September 1987
Exhibition sponsored by the Life Association of Scotland

The 369 Gallery is subsidised by the Scottish Arts Council & the City of Edinburgh District Council.

SUPPORTED BY CITY OF EDINBURGH DISTRICT COUNCIL IMPROVING SERVICES CREATING JOBS

NICARAGUA SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN AND EDINBURGH LATIN AMERICA SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN PRESENT

A NIGHT FOR NICARAGUA
–PART III–

ROBBIE COLTRANE & EMMA THOMPSON
TOM ROBINSON • SKINT VIDEO
JENNY LE COAT & THE DIAMANTES
MERRY MAC FUN SHOW • JOAN COLLINS FAN CLUB
RUMILLAJTA (FROM BOLIVIA)
HARRY "STAVROS" ENFIELD • TOM "LOFTY" WATT
VICIOUS BOYS • ROBERT LLEWELLYN
NICARAGUAN SPEAKER + *SPECIAL SURPRISE GUESTS*

SUNDAY 30 AUGUST AT 7pm • USHER HALL • LOTHIAN ROAD EDINBURGH
TICKETS: £5.50, £4.00 (UB40 & OAP)

BOX OFFICE: THE ASSEMBLY ROOMS • 54 GEORGE STREET • EDINBURGH • EH2 2LR ☎ 031-226-2427/8

Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign · THE LIST · CITY LIMITS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Travel To Edinburgh

By British Rail

Night Rider – Singles only available. £22 one way or £27 if you travel on Friday or Saturday. No rail card reductions on the cost of these seats; no couchettes, just seats in first class. You must make a reservation. *No* refund if you miss the train.
Saver Ticket – Valid for one month. £49 return if you travel off peak, £60 if you travel on a Friday or Saturday.
Daytime Single – This lasts for three days and costs £44.50.
Sleeper Train – Monday to Friday costs £49 plus £18 for a sleeping berth. Saturday costs £60 plus £18 for a sleeping berth. No full buffet available.
There is also a Young Scot card that costs £5 available for the under-26s, from Post Offices, which entitles the bearer to £2 off one Scot Rail ticket, reductions in all sorts of shops, free entrance into selected places and half-price discounts etc.

By Air

British Airways offer a shuttle service to Edinburgh from Heathrow Terminal One. No reservations are required.
The Early Saver return costs £74 but must be booked 14 days before departure, and travel is restricted to off-peak times.
The Super Shuttle Saver is £54, off-peak single, but must be purchased one day before travelling. The Super Shuttle is £72 one way at peak periods. There is also a £45 stand-by ticket.
For details ring either: 01 928 5100 or 01 897 4500.

Coaches

Coaches from Victoria coach station. Luxury coaches cost £27 return, £16 single. The morning coach costs £24 return and £14.50 single. There is only one overnight coach, which makes two stops en route and costs £24 return.
Reservations on all routes must be made to ensure a seat.

Useful Numbers

Fringe Information	031 226 5257/9
Fringe Club	031 667 2091
International Festival	031 226 4001
Film Festival	031 228 2688
Jazz Festival	031 557 1642
	or 031 557 1548
Assembly Rooms	031 226 2427/8
Book Festival	031 220 1259
Tourist Information and Accommodation	031 557 2727
Police	031 311 3131
British Rail Edinburgh	031 556 2451
British Rail Scottish Region	041 332 9811
City Bus Information	031 554 4494
Gay Switchboard	031 556 4049
Womanzone Women's Centre	031 667 2926
Citizen's Advice Bureau	031 557 1500
University (Student Accommodation Service)	031 667 0151

Illustrations: Clifford Harper

FROM THE WRITER OF *THE COMPANY OF WOLVES* ANGELA CARTER

THE MAGIC TOYSHOP (15)

"THE MAGIC TOYSHOP is not only a film to rank with Powell and Pressburger's The Red Shoes, but is surely one of the richest and strangest British movies of recent years – Once more converts the cinema to a palace of dreams – Fantasy and reality merge at every level, with extraordinary special effects, leaving the rare afterglow of a film you'll ponder and relive for ages – A classic of imagination made celluloid –"
***** Unmissable. Mat Snow, Q Magazine

A GRANADA FILM
PRODUCED BY STEVE MORRISON DIRECTED BY DAVID WHEATLEY Written by ANGELA CARTER Starring JOHN BELL CAROLINE MILMOE, KILLIAN MCKENNA, PATRICIA KERRIGAN, and LORCAN CRANITCH
Photographed by KEN MORGAN Edited by ANTHONY HAM Music by BILL CONNOR Production Designed by STEPHEN EISEREN Original Soundtrack on TER Records and Tapes Read the Virago Paperback
A PALACE PICTURES RELEASE

FROM FRIDAY JULY 31 GATE CINEMA NOTTING HILL GATE TEL: 727 4043 PHONE BOOKINGS 2.30 4.30 6.40 9.00 AND CAMDEN PLAZA CAMDEN TOWN TUBE 485 2443 1.50 4.05 6.25 8.50

COMPASS THEATRE COMPANY

NO COMPASS THEATRE AT THE FESTIVAL?
DON'T PANIC

You can a catch them with the *Tempest, Romeo and Juliet* and *A Higher Passion* on tour throughout the UK from September onwards.

"Theatre is not yet dead" The Guardian

For tour list and all information, contact the administrator,
Compass Theatre, The Leadmill, 6/7 Leadmill Road, Sheffield S1 4SF.
(0742) 755328

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Best Of The Fest

Assembly Rooms: Brilliant venue. Five performing spaces all under one roof in a beautifully restored Georgian building. Highlights: Compagnie di Divas – six women from Mexico; all play female Don Juans in a 'baroque tableau'. August 7-13, 3.45pm or 6.30pm. The Bhundu Boys – Zimbabwe rock, *the* dance band of the Festival, August 29, 9pm. *Hamlet* – from the Moscow Studio Theatre August 16-22, 11.45am. The Panic Brothers – two nights only of thrash guitar and post Everly Brothers harmonies, August 17-24, 10pm. Booking: 031 226 2427.

Lyceum Studio: Communicado Fringe First winners in past years present a new play *Mary, Queen of Scots* by Glaswegian poet Liz Lochhead, August 10-22, 9pm. Bookings: 031 229 9697.

Richard Demarco Gallery: British premier of a Samuel Becket novel *Company* directed by Tim Piggot-Smith, performed by Julian Curry August 9-29. Check times with venue. Not in the Fringe programme. Bookings: 031 557 0707.

Traverse Theatre: *Have You Seen Zandile?*, The Market Theatre of Johannesburg with a show for three women, August 11-29. Times differ. Bookings: 031 226 2633.

Mandela Theatre: *Hey Nicaragua*, a new play written after six months in the war zone in Nicaragua, August 17-29, not Sun, 4pm. Bookings: 031 652 0187.

Other Treasures

Basicks: *A Clown of God*, reflecting the Russian theme of the official festival, Basicks present a new play based on the diaries of Nijinsky, the great Russian dancer. Riddles Court, August 10-29, not Sun, 5.15pm. Bookings: 031 225 8961.

The Kosh: Challenging and innovative *The Edge* combines dancer and actress in an intense dance play about the relationship between a mother and her daughter. August 10-29, 8.30pm. Theatre Workshop. Bookings: 031 226 5425.

Shadow Syndicate: Fringe First winners last year, they're establishing a reputation for visually exciting theatre. *The Last Days of Nosferatu* is set in pre-Nazi Europe. Canongate Lodge August 9-29, 8.15pm. Bookings: 031 556 1388.

Flying Pickets: Acapella sounds from the team that produced the hit *Only You*. August 23-30. Bookings: 031 556 6550.

Mermaids Leg: A new play by this young company, *Hours by the Window* explores the relationship between Cynthia and Arthur Koestler, who died by suicide pact. Carlton Studios August 10-22, 7.30pm. Bookings: 031 556 7066.

Club Sandino: Hottest club in town with a percentage of the takings going to Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign. Salsa, jazz and soul brought to you by Wendy May (*The Tube*) and Simon Booth (Working Week). Playhouse Theatre August 10-29, 11pm till 3. Bookings: 031 557 2590.

Sweet Honey in the Rock: American all woman acapella group. Sold out when they last came to London, now's your chance to catch them. Assembly Rooms. August 27-29, 9.30pm. Bookings: 031 226 2427/8.

Free

For those without thousands to spend there are hundreds of free things to do and see. Below are just a few.

The Zap Club: The Brighton Club has gone one better this year. After the 'Hole In The Ground' last year, they're now taking over the whole of Rose Street, filling every available space with alternative acts and a video festival. August 7-29.

Colligation: Respected Tokyo actor, Zenya Hamada, has insisted that tickets for this play be free. A story about modern day Japan in the Noh tradition. August 12-22, 6pm. Bookings: Marco's Leisure: Centre 031 228 2170.

Festival Cavalcade: Entertaining procession to open the Festival and Fringe. All along Princes Street August 9, 2.30pm.

Fringe Sunday – a Lark in the Park: Holyrood Park is taken over for the day by the best of the Fringe, hot air balloons, kites and face painting. Fantastic day to have a picnic with Arthur's Seat as the backdrop. August 16, 1pm.

Classical Lunchtime Recitals: Festival Club, midday on August 9-14, 16, 23-29.

Festival Food

There is now a huge gleaming counter-service Wimpy at both ends of Princes Street in the city centre. Apart from the **Next cafe** – which has the best sit-down views of the castle in the city – and **Jenners** with its five in-store restaurants, you have to look beyond Edinburgh's premier shopping street even for fast food. The Waverley Market has all manner of polystyrene-clad snacks available from its half-a-dozen moulded plastic, brightly-lit units. Represented is the ultimate in **Spud U Like** outlets and a reminder that the craze for baked potato shops began in chilly Edinburgh.

If you still have the stomach for fast food, the station now has its own refurbished and rather good multi-unit food outlet. For light snacks, **Hendersons** (Hanover Street) has long been a favourite – not just with vegetarians – and is very handy for escaping the expensive but acceptable food at the Assembly Rooms.

Another basement restaurant nearby, **The Laigh Kitchen** (Hanover Street), although only open till early evening, could be quieter. The range isn't so great but it is one of the places you can sample the Scottish potato and meat snack, 'stovies'. Hanover Street, when in a rush for the Assembly Rooms, can usually be relied on for a meal – Italian, Chinese, Mexican or whatever.

Over in the Old Town, in the area of the Royal Mile where many Fringe venues are packed together, the best food is found away from the Mile itself.

For example, in Fishmarket Close is **Le Sept** – a French style creperie offering good value and one of the few places where you can sit outside.

The Doric Tavern, just down from the International Festival booking office in Market Street, remains one of the best informal wine bar restaurants in the city. In Cockburn Street, among the streetwise clothing shops, is **Viva Mexico**, offering good value Mexican food.

The Grassmarket, handy for the Traverse Theatre, is the home of several good Old Town eating places. **Lilligs** is a German style wine bar, with a welcoming but casual atmosphere and **Mammas** is a clever Canadian offering that supplies

North American-style pizzas they offer as an alternative to the many excellent Italian restaurants. **Gennaros** next door is a slightly more formal Italian restaurant with food and ambience representing excellent value compared with the more well known **Cosmos** in Castle Street.

Edinburgh is rightly celebrated for its Italian pizza restaurants. A string of them is to be found on Lothian Road where the film festival's Filmhouse is. **Dario's** is the best known, and currently leading the field is the entertaining **Lazio's**. On the other side of town, and ideally sited, for the Playhouse, is **Ferri's**, another hard working more-than-adequate standard Italian.

Indian restaurants also offer quality and range. Try **The Verandah** in Dalry Road; **Shamiana** in Brougham Street (handy for the King's Theatre); and even if you are not a vegetarian, **Kalpna**, a fascinating vegetarian Indian restaurant at St Patrick Square.

Finally, a trip to Leith (Edinburgh's equivalent to London's docklands) provides a glimpse of the most exciting recent developments. The excellent waterside bars and restaurants, **The Shore** and **The Waterfront**, and the fish restaurant **Skippers**, have been joined by **The Vintners Room** in the Vaults, the restored building which was, in the 18th century, one of the most important claret importing centres in the country. Just along the sea road at Newhaven, the **Starbank Bar** provides excellent food, real ale and the most beautiful sunsets.

Edinburgh now has much more to offer in terms of food, and the deregulated licencing laws offer almost too much alcohol. You can drink practically at any time day or night. Best hangover cure: breakfast at the **Gazebo** cafe at the bottom of Dundas Street. ●

Nigel Billen

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EDINBURGH FESTIVAL ISSUES
PREVIEW SPECIAL
OUT AUGUST 6
REVIEW SPECIAL
OUT AUGUST 20

THE LIST
GLASGOW AND EDINBURGH EVENTS GUIDE

ONLY 50 PENCE

Pleasance Jottings

Red Stockings – *"One of the North-West's top women's theatre companies."* (Spare Rib)

in **BREAKING RANK** a musical comedy about women, war and peace. and **OH YES WE CAN** an outspoken blend of music, satire and mirth.

August 8th-22nd at 6pm

£3.00 (£2.50)

1 Talford Grove, Manchester, M20 8WH (061 434 8014).

Fairer Sax presents its new show:

SAXPRESSIONS

from 7th August – 22nd August
Start 8.30pm; finish 9.45pm
Tickets **£4.50** and **£3.50** concessions.

"A blend of musical expertise and visual expertise and visual allure." The Times.

"Played and presented with impeccable style and panache." The Daily Telegraph.

"Hugely competent and visually exciting." The Glasgow Herald.

12.12 CABARET

- Guests at time of going to press include **Tony Allen, Steve Edgar, Felix, Ronnie Golden, Hattie Hayridge, Kit Hollerbach, Pierre Hollins, Junger and Parker, Paul Merton, The Nice People, Steve Rawlings, Nick Revell, Mark Steel**
- Resident guests **THE 2 MARKS** (City Limits' New Act of the Year 87)
- Your hosts: fast-talking satirists **BLACK & BADDIEL.**

Without doubt the Fringe's liveliest cabaret in its liveliest venue.

Book very early.

August 8-30 (not Mondays) at 12.12 am. Tickets **£2.50 (£2.00)**

Space to sort out your day. For a Pleasance one, look us up in this programme under 'Pleasance', call the Pleasance Box Office (556 6550) or come to 60, The Pleasance, just off the Royal Mile. Enjoy the Pleasance Sensation – Breakfast, lunchtime carvery, cream teas, bars all day and...

THE NEW TESTAMENT IN SCOTS

translated by
W.L. Lorimer
£20.00

'But I offer this news of an excellent, indeed probably great, Scots translation of Holy Writ as an item of information at least as compelling as fresh accounts of arms build-ups or new snarlings between the Soviet Union and United States... The Scots version of the New Testament seems to restore the subversiveness of the Christian message...'
Antony Burgess

CANONGATE
17 Jeffrey St, Edinburgh

WORLD THEATRE SEASON

The best from around the world including . . .

Moscow Studio Theatre – *Hamlet* – (U.S.S.R.)
The Real Sounds of Africa – (Zimbabwe)
Chorus Theatre of Manipur – (India)
The Shawko Company & La Mama – (New York)

Tel: 041-552-4267/8
63 TRONGATE, GLASGOW, G1

Scottish Poetry Library

FJORD AND FIRTH

St Cecilia's Hall, Cowgate
24 and 25 August, 7.30pm

A women's poetry event featuring
Marianne Larsen from Denmark – 'one of the most notable and distinctive poets of the younger generation'.
Steinunn Sigurdardottir from Iceland. She has published 3 books of poetry, short stories, radio plays and translations. Her most recent publication is a novel.
Scottish women poets who write in Scots, Gaelic and English.

Definitely one of the most contemporary and avant garde programmes in the official Festival, these will be memorable occasions of delight to mind and sense.

Sponsored by Icelandair and the Danish Cultural Institute

WEST & WILDE
BOOKSHOP

Publishers of LAVENDER MENACE

GRAND OPENING
SATURDAY 1 AUGUST

A DIFFERENT PLACE FOR ALL YOUR BOOKS
For the Best in Lesbian, Gay & Feminist Reading

25a DUNDAS STREET EDINBURGH EH3 6QQ tel 031 556 0079
Monday to Friday 9am-9pm Saturday 9am-7pm Sunday 12noon-6pm

PRINT into *Action!*

Whether it's 2,000 leaflets needed "yesterday" or a 350 page report we offer a sympathetic and competitively priced service to trades unions, the labour movement and voluntary organisations.

We can supply your campaigning needs ... leaflets, stickers, posters, bulletins, banners, broadsheets ...

Phone Seán Feeny or Margaret Haldane for advice or an estimate.

HAMPDEN ADVERTISING
LIMITED (TU)
65, ROBERTSON STREET
GLASGOW G2 8HY
TEL: 041-248 7691

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fringe Benefits

While Edinburgh International Festival was created as an attempt to promote peace after wartime ravages, the Fringe was a spontaneous happening as performers converged on Edinburgh to see and be seen, to entertain and be entertained.

Donald Pleasance, Maggie Smith, John Cleese and Alan Bennet are some of the famous names who trod the boards in Fringe church halls, pubs and clubs in the early days of their careers.

More recently Rowan Atkinson, Rory Bremner, Griff Rhys-Jones, Mel Smith and Victoria Wood have become well-known tv personalities after being spotted at the Fringe.

But what about 1987? Do producers still see the Fringe as a talent-spotting exercise? We spoke to John Plowman, producer of 'Wogan' for BBC tv.

'The big difference nowadays is that the Edinburgh

The Alexander Sisters

Fringe is not the only place where we can see up and coming cabaret or light entertainment acts. There is now a very healthy cabaret circuit throughout the country all year long, and we try to see as many of the acts as we can. However, we still see Edinburgh as a very important source of new or developing material and we would certainly examine the Fringe brochure and send researchers to see likely shows. However, some aspects of the Fringe never change – the fun and enthusiasm and, of course, the buzz when a show is a success and suddenly everyone is queueing outside the Fringe office for tickets. These things haven't changed since my days on the Fringe.' (John Plowman directed Rowan Atkinson in his first big show in 1975.)

Some of the stars of the past will be doing special benefit performances to raise money for the much-needed expansion of the Fringe offices. The Bodgers will be reforming for one performance only, and stars like Richard Stilgoe, Boys of the Lough and Rowan Atkinson will be appearing in these unique shows. Of the £120,000 needed for complete renovation, £80,000 has been raised since last year.

So what can we expect from this year's programme? 1,005 shows, 482 companies, 6,000 performers and a host of soon-to-be stars!

Particularly notable on the cabaret front are Craig Fergusson in his Bing Hitler persona, and Harry Enfield (Stavros from Saturday Live) appearing together at The Assembly Rooms, which also hosts 60 other shows including Victor and Barry (Forbes Masson & Alan Cumming – am-dram kings of Kelvinside), Who Dares Wins, Simon Fanshawe, Brian Patten, Sweet Honey on the Rock etc, etc, etc.

Then there is the Fringe Fringe; acts who, for reasons of time, money or motivation are not part of the 'official' Fringe, but who will be appearing in venues (pubs and clubs mostly) in Edinburgh throughout the Festival. It's worthwhile to keep an eye on posters and leaflets distributed in information areas and find out where some of these excellent acts will be performing. People like The Alexander Sisters will be there – an incredibly funny duo who mercilessly spoof 'Scottish' culture in all its wierd manifestations.

Some of the best Scottish theatre companies will again be premiering shows at the Fringe – TAG with a new and surprising version of 'Othello' and Communicado with Liz Lochhead's 'Mary, Queen of Scots Got Her Head Chopped Off'. The latter is one of seven productions on this subject commemorating the 400th anniversary of her death.

Sweet Honey In The Rock

Communicado's artistic director, Gerry Mulgrew, said 'the play is not merely a chronicle of Mary's life, but draws parallels with Scotland's current social and political situation as it is very much about national identities. In fact the situation then can also be likened to the Iranian Revolution now, with John Knox being the Ayatollah struggling for political power crossed with religious fanaticism and a hatred of women.'

What are the benefits and drawbacks of appearing at the Fringe for this project-funded company? Gerry answers: 'We get £30,000 per year from the Scottish Arts Council to do two or three new shows touring for about 11 weeks each. Mary, Queen of Scots has 13 people in it and when you add on rehearsal and preparation time it becomes almost impossible. We desperately need good audiences at the Fringe, but we are competing with so many other shows, and Scottish audiences tend to think that they can catch us up on tour in some other venue. The biggest problem is the Scottish Arts Council's relationship with central government – they have no direct access and have to rely on a slice of Arts Council cake. Quite honestly the biggest laugh on the Fringe is this system – it's a joke!'

How do shows win audiences? We spoke to Brenda Carson who runs an independent publicity company (STEAM – Scottish Theatre, Entertainment & Arts Marketing).

'We are doing press/publicity for several companies and cabaret acts this year, but it can get quite dog-eat-dog in the competition for good poster sites for example. A sort of madness grips some of the less well known groups and they think that if they throw away everybody else's leaflets then their show will suddenly be transformed into an overnight success. It doesn't work like that. Once you've done the hard, monotonous slog of ensuring that the publicity is accurate, easy to read and well distributed, then I agree with John Plowman that word-of-mouth is the best ticket seller you can get.'

So what should you go and see? 1,005 shows, 482 companies, 6,000 performers and a host of soon-to-be stars... ●

Frances Rose

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

Blattering Away

On a gable wall in the village of Camlough, the gateway to the fiercely republican borderland of South Armagh, there is a slogan which reads: 'God created the Catholics; the armalite made them equal'. Beside it flies the Irish tricolour.

This entente between religion, nationality and political violence has provided the Provisional IRA with much of its popular appeal, fixity of purpose and durability. It came to a powerful climax during the 1981 republican prisoners' hunger strike, when a significant proportion of the Irish Catholic nation was swept up in the emotion of 10 young men fasting to the death in the face of a heartless prison regime and an implacable British government. In contrast, British incomprehension of Ireland's politics reached a new nadir, with government and public alike looking on, bewildered and repelled at the spectacle of convicted IRA and INLA terrorists dying in an effort to force the authorities to recognise them as political prisoners.

After 10 years of violence, in which the IRA first destroyed the political structures of the discredited Northern Ireland statelet and then itself came close to being wiped out, a generation of younger and more politically sophisticated leaders was using the hunger strike to construct a compelling new legitimacy for the IRA's cause.

The use of the hunger strike as a weapon by defenceless prisoners against an arbitrary and unyielding oppressor has a long and respectable history, especially in Ireland. Its adoption by the IRA and INLA prisoners in the Maze was to legitimise their cause, long tarnished by vicious bloodletting, in a way not even their ablest strategist could have dreamt of.

That strategist, Gerry Adams, was already looking for an opportunity to test out a new two-pronged plan of campaign. This would see Sinn Fein building popular support by contesting elections on both sides of the Irish border, while the IRA would prepare itself for a 15 or 20 year low-level war of attrition, interspersed with the occasional headline-grabbing attack on a prestige target, aimed at weakening Britain's long-term willingness to stay in Northern Ireland.

The hunger strike, although initially embarked upon by the prisoners against the IRA leadership's wishes, was to give Adams that opportunity in spectacular fashion, with the election of Bobby Sands to Westminster in a fortuitous by-election six weeks into his fast. A month later Sands was dead, the Irish republican struggle was front page news throughout the world, and the 'armalite and ballot box' strategy had given the IRA a potent new lease of life.

It was a strategy that would result in Adams himself becoming an MP, in the discovery of potential new allies on the left of the British Labour Party, in the IRA's most spectacular demonstration of its ability to strike at the highest echelons of the British establishment in the Brighton bombing and, largely to counter its apparent effectiveness, in the unprecedented coming together of the London and Dublin governments to sign the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

Broadening the Battlefield: The H-Blocks and The Rise of Sinn Fein *(Gill and Macmillan £6.95 pbk)* by Belfast journalist *Liam Clarke* purports to be a study of this strategic broadening of the IRA's battlefield into electoral politics. In this it fails, despite some interesting detail, largely due to the paucity of the author's Provisional sources.

David Beresford is less concerned wth strategy than with tragedy. In **Ten Men Dead: The Story of the 1981 Irish Hunger Strike** *(Grafton £3.95 pbk)* he sets out to tell the harrowing human story of how 10 very ordinary men – among them a draper's assistant, a mechanic, an upholsterer and a milkman – starved themselves to a horrible death, and he writes on the effect of those deaths on their families, fellow-prisoners and communities.

His account is a moving and powerful one, and a rare insight into the minds of the men of the Provisional IRA. His hero is not a hunger striker at all, but the commander of the IRA prisoners in the Maze – Brendan 'Bik' McFarlane – on whose smuggled letters the book is largely based.

Beresford's book has its weaknesses: notably a suspension of his journalistic critical faculty in failing to examine the manipulative role of Adams and the IRA leadership during the prison fast. Why, for example, was it not called off, as the IRA's 'Army Council' had full powers to do, in July 1981, when it was clear to the leadership and prisoners alike that a considerable propaganda victory had been won and the British were not going to offer any new concessions? Instead it was allowed to drag on for nearly three more months and cause four more unnecessary deaths.

The book's strength is that it manages to communicate some of the sheer power of the IRA men's commitment to their cause and the quasi-religious fervour and loyalty behind that commitment, and to reveal the family networks of gunmen, priests and respectable citizenry which ensure that the roots of Irish republicanism go deep into the consciousness of the whole Northern Ireland Catholic community.

Those roots also give some hint at the ideology of the IRA, although none of these books adequately examine this vital element in its make-up. And despite the Provos' left-wing rhetoric and the undisputed urban working-class support for Gerry Adams and his cohorts, there is precious little socialism in evidence here.

Instead, a more militant version of the old Catholic nationalist all-class alliance which fought the war of independence nearly 70 years ago seems to be the dominant theme, personified by the families of the hunger strikers. A central part of Sinn Fein's strategy may be to attract the young, the poor and the disenchanted in the Republic of Ireland to their populist social democratic standard, but on the evidence both of these books and the party's miserable showing in last February's Southern general election, there is a very long haul ahead of them.

The Provisional IRA by *Patrick Bishop and Eamonn Mallie (Heinemann £12.95 hbk)* may lack the passion and insights of Beresford's book, but for all that, it is a highly professional journalistic account of 17 years of the Provisional IRA, based on a meticulous sifting through the mass of secondary sources plus revealing interviews with some of the leading protagonists – notably Adams and the IRA's most formidable military thinker, Martin McGuinness. It will certainly become the standard reference work for the dwindling band of British political commentators on, and students of, Britain's oldest and most perplexing colony.

Bishop and Mallie rightly conclude that as long as there is a British presence in Ireland, the inheritors of the 200-year-old tradition of violent Irish separatism will be fighting to drive it out. Two months ago Gerry Adams held his West Belfast seat in the general election, with Sinn Fein showing that they now have a bedrock support of between 80,000 and 90,000 votes in Northern Ireland as a whole. By any standards, that is enough republican water for the killer fish of the IRA to keep swimming in. A new IRA offensive, planned at a special 'army convention' last autumn, is now in full swing after being delayed earlier in the year by a bloody internal feud in the now practically defunct INLA. It is only a matter of time before another spectacular atrocity is attempted in Britain. 'Blattering away' is what the Provos call it in Belfast; 'blattering away until the Brits get sickened and leave'. ●

Andy Pollak

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Personal Survival

Of Love and Shadows
Isabel Allende
Jonathan Cape £10.95 hbk

There are no prizes for guessing the setting of Isabel Allende's second novel. It is a South American country in which a general rules, having overthrown a democratic ruler; a country in which it is possible to lead a good life, if you have enough money and are willing to cultivate your garden and look the other way.

The theme is that reality will break through, no matter how careful the defence of illusion, and that salvation comes only through the painful process of embracing it.

The heroine is Irene, the daughter of Beatriz, an abandoned upper-class wife who has turned part of her house into a genteel home for the elderly. She has done this in order to preserve a corner of privilege and to save face with the neighbours.

Beatriz lives for the day that Irene will fulfil the destiny she has mapped out for her and marry her fiance of many years' standing – Captain Gustavo Morante. Irene, a freer spirit than her mother finds comfortable, works for a magazine and plays the role of angel of mercy for the moribund inhabitants of the old folk's home, carefully preserving for each the element of fiction necessary for happiness.

Irene's destiny, however, is to lose her illusions. A chance assignment takes her to the house of Evangelina Ranquileo, an adolescent who has begun to suffer mysterious trances and has become a religious cult object in her neighbourhood. With her photographer, Francisco Leal, son of an exiled Spanish revolutionary, she is present when the army raids the Ranquileo home and Evangelina, in her trance, humiliates the officer in charge. Evangelina is arrested shortly afterwards and disappears.

Evangelina's disappearance sets off a train of disasters: for her adoptive brother, an army recruit who becomes a renegade in the mountains; for Gustavo Morante, who dies attempting to mount a rebellion against the general in order to save the honour of the armed forces; for Beatriz, whose pitiful attempts to keep reality at bay are swept away as Irene becomes a political threat to the armed forces.

Evangelina's mother, the peasant wife of an impoverished circus clown, appeals to them for help in finding out what happened to her daughter. From that moment, Irene's fate is sealed. With Francisco, she pursues the mysterious disappearance of Evangelina and together they uncover the horror of an abandoned mine which contains the gruesome evidence of the regime's brutality: the decomposing bodies of 14 people who have disappeared, including Evangelina. The discovery shatters Irene's life, nearly leads to her death and does lead to her exile with Francisco, with whom she has fallen in love.

The political message is ultimately a romantic one. The author's foreword describes the novel as 'the story of a woman and a man who loved one another so deeply that they saved themselves from a banal existence'. This is not a manual for the overthrow of dictatorships – indeed, most of her characters come off badly against the brutality of the regime – but a message of personal survival. ●

Isabel Hilton

Economic Endeavours

A Taste of Power
Edited by Maureen Mackintosh and Hilary Wainwright
Verso £7.95 pbk

More than most books, this one can be read at a number of levels. First, it is an insider's account of a highly idiosyncratic episode: the brief reign of a 'new left' GLC from 1981 to 1986. Second, it is an analysis of the problems a local authority faces in pursuing a radical manifesto. Finally, it attempts general reflections on the politics of socialist economic policy.

This is very much the story of the GLC as seen by the newly recruited officers, rather than by the politicians or the established bureaucrats, the latter group appearing largely as an obstruction to the newcomers' view as to what should be done.

The account of the difficulties faced by the GLC in pursuing its policies is extremely interesting in many of its details, but extremely odd in tone. The tone is frequently one of surprise that other agencies did not share the GLC's view of the world, and that policy is always pursued in a context of never-to-be-resolved conflicts which have to be managed rather than settled. There seems to have been a striking failure to draw on previous experience and to analyse the problems of policy-making. This is emphasised by the lack of reference to other agencies who have pursued comparable policies, bar one to Sheffield and a couple to Camden. While undoubtedly the GLC had an incredibly ambitious programme and was therefore bound to make mistakes, the evidence of this book suggests strikingly little forethought was given to problems of policy implementation.

It is at the level of general analysis of socialist economic policy that the book is at its weakest. First, there is a notable absence of discussion of certain key issues. For example, the emphasis on the manufacturing sector in the GLC's economic policies is mentioned but not analysed. Yet this is a vital issue. Does the case for such an emphasis rest purely on the problems of the balance of payments? In which case the reason why local, as opposed to national, governments should have such an emphasis is unclear. If, however, the emphasis is based on a concern with the composition of employment, then much more discussion is needed about how far that composition can be altered by purely local action.

More broadly, the framework deployed to discuss general issues of socialist economic policy is extremely problematic. This framework has two principal features. On the one hand it collapses many political problems into a problem of democracy. At the same time its account of politics is unacceptably sociological. On the first point, the text several times argued that for a policy to work it must be democratic. Thus, for example, it is argued that the industrial leasing policy failed because there was no constituency supporting the policy 'on the ground'. This kind of argument manages at the same time to conflate democracy with popular participation, and the desirability of democracy with its necessity. In the particular case of leasing, it would appear from the account given here that the problem was one of an inadequate inspectorate, not a problem of inadequate democracy.

Finally to sociology. As suggested above, the book tells of a voyage of discovery into the complexities of politics. But these conplexities are treated in an overly sociological fashion. Thus when a policy is unfavourable for women or blacks it is seen as a problem of the gender/race of the people involved – again conflating two issues. There are very good reasons for recruiting more women and blacks to all kinds of decision-making bodies. But to believe that this would guarantee any particular political outcome is plainly daft and dangerous at the same time. This book is to be read and enjoyed as a well-informed account of a startling episode in the history of British socialism. Its analytic endeavours must, however, be treated with a great deal of scepticism. ●

Jim Tomlinson

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UPDATE

IDAF

ANC: The writing is on the wall

South Africa's Hope

1987 celebrates a 75-year record of struggle for self-determination by the African National Congress (ANC). Founded in 1912, the ANC was the first indigenous political organisation of resistance to colonial conquest on the African continent; it is one of the ironies of South African history that here, where politically organised national resistance first began, liberation has yet to be won. Yet the long history of the movement places it today in a unique position from which to challenge an increasingly polarised minority white regime. Mature and consolidated, with a broad popular base, the ANC looks, in 1987 more than ever, like the next government of a free, democratic, non-racial South Africa. Below Joanna Coakley presents a factsheet on the history of the ANC and a diary of forthcoming events.

1910 Act of Union between the British and the Boers

1912 The ANC is formed by black professionals and intellectuals, together with the chiefs of the main tribal groupings, to continue the 250 year struggle against conquest. Overwhelming British military superiority means that armed struggle has to be replaced by political and cultural struggle.

1913 The Native Land Act leaves Africans only 13% of the total land mass while retaining 87% exclusively for whites. This, and the threatened introduction of pass laws for women, becomes the focus of ANC activity.

1921 Formation of the South African Communist Party. This joins the issue of class to that of race and begins a long association between the party and the ANC.

1940-48 Increase in union activity and radical politics. Peaceful compliance gives way to a more militant stance. Foundation of the ANC Women's League and Youth League. Largest ever strike called by miners.

1948 National Party takes power on a ticket of anti-communism and apartheid. White minority power is entrenched and apartheid institutionalised.

1950 Suppression of Communism Act closes down all avenues of political protest. Defiance of Unjust Laws campaign brings together the ANC and the Indian and coloured congresses.

1955 ANC adopts the People's Charter. This remains today the blueprint for a new order in South Africa.

1956 Women's March in Pretoria. 20,000 women converge on the union building.

1960 Sharpeville Massacre. 69 people on a peaceful anti-pass law demonstration shot dead and 178 wounded. ANC goes underground.

1961 Acts of sabotage organised against government installations. Emergence of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC.

1962 ANC leaders, including Nelson Mandela, captured and, after a four year trial, sentenced to life imprisonment. Rivonia Trials used by Mandela as a platform for the ANC.

1972-73 Student and trade union organisations formed. Boycotts and strike actions. Black consciousness movement grows.

1976 Soweto massacre. 900 schoolchildren killed in the biggest protest ever. Disturbances spread nationally.

1984 Beginning of the present unrest. The 1980s have seen a tremendous upsurge of black resistance, with a state of emergency being declared by the regime in 1986. The government is being engaged on all fronts – through the trade unions, with the women's campaign and the school boycotts, in religious organisations, in the rural areas, the Bantustans and the townships – under the ANC umbrella. If their call to isolate South Africa by sanctions succeeds, and is coupled with internal efforts to create instability and insecurity, ungovernability will, they assert, finally give way to people's power. ●

Isolating Apartheid

It has long been argued that economic sanctions and disinvestment would seriously damage the present regime in South Africa. Yet Margaret Thatcher insists that 'trade and economic sanctions would only serve to entrench apartheid, increase the risk of bloodshed and inflict severe hardship on black South Africans without bringing a settlement any closer'.

British trade unions are in the forefront of the campaign for the imposition of sanctions and for disinvestment. At the Transport and General Workers' Union conference general secretary Ron Todd called for mandatory sanctions, but also encouraged his members to take the matter into their own hands.

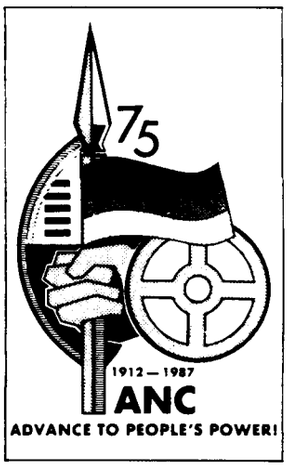
The June conference of the General Municipal & Boilermakers Union passed a special motion condemning Britain's disgraceful sabotaging of international efforts to isolate South Africa economically, and calling for a trade union ban on South African gold and fruit products.

South Africa's own biggest labour federation, COSATU, has adopted a new strong stand on economic pressure for political change and called for an international embargo on foreign loans. ●

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Symbol Of Resistance

The ANC emblem has been redesigned for the 75th anniversary of the movement and now represents in symbolic form its history and central tenets. It incorporates the ANC flag, coloured black for the people, green for the fertility of the earth and yellow for the mineral wealth beneath. The device of the wheel dates from the drawing-up of the Freedom Charter in 1955, with the four spokes representing the four main national groupings; and its motion, rolling to freedom, symbolises the ANC's goal of a united people developing a new South African nationhood in the process. The fist signifies a fighting people. The spear and shield recall earlier wars of resistance, a tradition continued into the present by Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the people's army founded in 1961.●



A SALUTE TO WOMEN OF SOUTH AFRICA
NOW YOU HAVE TOUCHED THE WOMEN YOU HAVE STRUCK A ROCK. YOU HAVE DISLODGED A BOULDER. YOU WILL BE CRUSHED.

The Long Road To Pretoria

For 75 years the African National Congress has led the struggle for national liberation in South Africa, and women repressed and exploited by apartheid, have made an important contribution to its work. Today women defy the presence of troops in the townships to demonstrate against continuing detentions, and stage strikes in protest at sexual harassment and the way the police ignore the activities of rapists, yet arrest children; they build up alternative structures in women's committees and street committees, to sustain rent and consumer boycotts, and protect communities from state vigilantes.

The ANC Women's League, established in 1943, was a key element in building the ANC as a mass-based popular movement in the 1940s and 1950s and, as the largest organisation in the Federation of South African Women (FSAW), led the campaign against the imposition of passes on African women, which reached its high point in the march of 20,000 women on Pretoria on August 9 1956, a day commemorated ever since inside and outside the country as South African Women's Day.

The FSAW drew up a women's charter, some of whose clauses were incorporated into the Freedom Charter. When the ANC was banned in 1960 it was impossible for the Women's League to organise openly. Some of its leading members were detained, banned or forced into exile. Within the external mission of the ANC the women's section continued to campaign against apartheid and for the emancipation of South African women.

The mass democratic women's organisations inside South Africa, which have rebuilt themselves over the last decade, share many of the same aspirations. Both look forward to what the ANC president in his address to the South African nation on January 8 1987 called: 'one of the greatest prizes of the democratic revolution . . . the unshackling of the women'.●

Calendar Of Events

Sunday August 9: South African Women's Day All day festival in Finsbury Park, London N4, 11am onwards, with Angela Davis from the USA, ANC Women's Committee members from Africa. Creche, stalls, live music, food, bar, videos, entertainment. Admission £2. Details 01 881 3000 x3286.

Wednesday August 26: Namibia Day Anniversary of the launch of SWAPO's armed liberation struggle in 1960.

Monday 7 – Sunday September 13: Satis Week of Action Events around the country to draw attention to increasing apartheid repression. Key dates are:

Thursday September 10: Save the Sharpeville Six Date of the appeal by Theresa Ramashamola and her five companions against their death sentences in South Africa.

Saturday September 12: Tenth anniversary of the murder in detention of Steve Biko Memorial service in London on Sunday September 13, Westminster Cathedral Conference Centre, Morpeth Terrace, SW1, followed by a vigil for the Sharpeville Six. For full details contact Clive Nelson at AAM. Tel: 01 387 7966.

Friday September 11: Local authority seminar on Namibia, Edinburgh Hosted by Edinburgh district council for the national steering committee on local authority action against apartheid. Details from Mick Flynn at AAM. Tel: 01 387 7966.

Saturday September 10: Stop apartheid coal conference, Sheffield Organised by the AAM and the National Union of Mineworkers to press for sanctions against South African coal imports. Details from Colin Adkins at AAM. Tel: 01 387 7966.

Saturday October 24: AAM national demonstration for sanctions, London. Assemble 12 noon Embankment. March to Hyde Park for 3pm rally. Chief speaker: Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO. Details 01 387 7966. Wales AAM support demo in Cardiff, contact 0222 499769 for details.

November 3 'Apartheid – I won't buy it' The Communist Party's contribution to the boycott.

'Sanction Pledge' signatures will be presented to MPs at a lobby of parliament. Details from Dave Cook. Tel: 01 251 4406.

Saturday 7 – Saturday November 14: International Week of Action on Shell Special emphasis on the role of local authorities in the shell boycott, with disinvestment appeal from mayors around the world. ●

CONTRIBUTORS

Malcolm Rutherford is assistant editor and political analyst of the *Financial Times*.
Mike Davis is an editor of *Year Left: American Socialist Yearbook*.
Eric Hobsbawm is a member of *Marxism Today*'s editorial board.
Hywel Francis is a member of the Communist Party and *Marxism Today*'s editorial board.
Genista McIntosh is senior administrator at the Royal Shakespeare Company.
Esther Saraga and **Mary MacLeod** are both senior lecturers in the Department of Applied Social Studies at the Polytechnic of North London, and have recently established a Child Abuse Studies Unit there.
Peter Glotz was until recently general secretary of the German SPD.
Donald Sassoon is the author of *Contemporary Italy* (Longman) and is currently working on a book on the European Left for IB Taurus.
Robin Cook is Labour MP for Livingston. He has recently been elected to the Shadow Cabinet.
Marge Piercy is a novelist.
Maria Lauret is writing a book on contemporary political women writers.
Cora Kaplan writes on culture and feminism.
Paul Allen is a broadcaster and playwright.
Joyce McMillan is a freelance journalist and critic based in Edinburgh.
Nigel Billen is editor of *The List*.
Richard Eyre takes over as director of the National Theatre next month.
David Edgar is a playwright and a member of *Marxism Today*'s editorial board. His recent play, *That Summer*, is running at the Hampstead Theatre in London.
Frances Rose is a freelance journalist based in Glasgow.
Andy Pollak is co-author of a recent biography of Ian Paisley and a journalist on *The Irish Times*.
Isabel Hilton is Latin American editor for *The Independent*.
Jim Tomlinson is a lecturer in economics at Brunel University.
Joanna Coakley is a journalist and post-graduate student.
Bob Woffinden is a regular contributor to *The Listener*.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

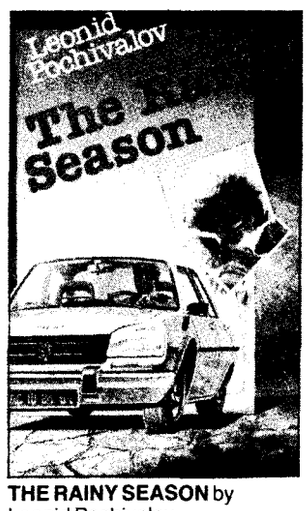
BESTSELLERS FROM THE SOVIET UNION

Novels of Intrigue and Suspense

STORIES by
Vsevolod Garshin
07147 17991 £3.50 Paperback
383 pages
A collection of gripping short stories.

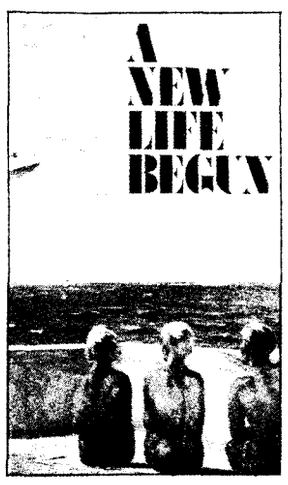
EXIT LORENTZ by Teodor Gladkov &
Apollinary Sergeyev
07147 22170 £1.95 Paperpack
214 pages
A new thriller from two young Soviet writers.

MORNING RENDEZVOUS by
V. Belov
07147 23967 £3.50 Paperback
383 pages
A collection by a contemporary Soviet writer.



THE RAINY SEASON by
Leonid Pochivalov
07147 23797 £3.95 Paperback
400 pages
An exciting novel with an African theme.

FAREWELL MY DEAR COLONEL by Leonid Kolosov
07147 23584 £1.95 Paperback
166 pages
A spy story, only this time it's NATO not the KGB.



A NEW LIFE BEGUN
07147 24967 £3.95
Paperback 292 pages
Stunning prose, poetry and essays of the 1920's and 1930's.

THE THUNDERERS by
Victor Stepanov
07147 23789 £3.95
Paperback 271 pages
A thriller set in the Atlantic.

Available in good bookshops. If you would like to order by post send your orders to Central Books, 37 Grays Inn Road, London WC1 (Tel 01-242 6166) enclose 60p postage per book. Orders for 2 or more books are post free.

14 THE LEATHERMARKET · LONDON SE1 3ER · TEL 01-407 5447

CENTRAL BOOKS

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

C·L·A·S·S·I·F·I·E·D

Marxism Today has a dynamic public profile. We try hard to avoid all those awful stereotypes. Not surprisingly our readers avoid the usual stereotypes too. Energy and enthusiasm for life isn't the monopoly of the Right.

M·T HEARTS

For love, lust or laid-back companionship. To those according to their need. 50p per word. All entries run for two issues.

● **Socialist Chinese,** ex-journalist, post-grad, 30's wants international lady for more than mundane concerns. But capable of frivolity too. Central London. Box 084.

● **Soulful, introspective** yet sometimes lively (even humorous), presentable male, 29, wide interests, seeks sympathetic woman. Ideally: friendly, sincere, talkative. Photo appreciated. London based Northern exile. Box 085.

● **Attractive woman,** 45, professional, is looking for socialist male for fun, love and commitment. Wirral-Merseyside. Box 086.

● **Tall businessman (45)** seeks slim, shortish, young guy for safe 1:1 relationship. Nice London home write in confidence. I'll send you my photo. Box 087.

● **Man, 29,** single, 6' tall medium built who is friendly, sincere and caring seeks female for friendship/relationship. Box 088.

● **Are you an unattached,** clever, lovely socialist man about 55? Are you looking for a woman of similar age with a lively body and mind, strong but gentle of good, stylish appearance? If so, please write. It could be beautiful. Box 089.

● **Shy male, 21** seeks female companion. North-west, anywhere? Box 090.

● **Gay** East Sussex male (21) who is lonely and depressed seeks friends. Box 091.

● **Cambridge PhD** scientist, 24, seeks attractive suspendered female 18-35 for intense physical and mental stimulation. Box 092.

● **Active woman** seeks attractive man for interesting encounters. Write for action – Birmingham(!). Box 093.

● **Dull Dumfries** where Burns collected tax, is now the home of someone with similar appetites. Well, actually the egalitarianism is running thin, the whisky has been swopped for Perrier and I prefer men. Me: spunky and blonde, female and less than discreet. Take the high road . . . Box 094.

● **Libertarian Marxist,** male, 41, divorced, unemployed, Ph.D., wide-ranging interests, unprejudiced; seeks female penfriend(s). Box 095.

● **Post-election Blues?** Socialist man 31 into films, travel, music, and fun, seeks attractive, independent woman for mutual recovery. Brighton area. Box 096.

● **Tall, slim,** active male, 67. Interests travel, cinema, dining out, seeks lady in Harrow area. Box 097.

● **Warwickshire,** West Midlands. Handsome bi guy, 37, tied, seeks handsome guy over 21 in same position, for discreet friendship and fun. Likes literature, politics, pubs. Photo. Box 098.

● **Male, 38, 5'10" tall,** well-built, friendly, caring nature, solvent, various interests, active C.P. member; moderate. Lives Wirral-Merseyside. Seeks thoughtful woman, 28-35 who's in love with life and wants a permanent relationship. Box 099.

● **Gay man 28,** S. London, seeks attractive Socialist man for close relationship. Photo appreciated. Box 100.

● **In transferring the Classified files to computer we inadvertently lost the addresses of Boxes 069, 075, 095 and 098. A considerable number of replies await sending. Please contact Malcolm on 01-608 0265. Sincere Apologies.**

● **Gay male, mid-thirties,** Wiltshire, seeks new friends any area. Interests: theatre, literature, music, Penfriends considered but possibility of meetings preferred. No stereotypes or humourless ideologues. Box 101.

● **Recently bereaved,** retired male Socialist. Considerate non-smoker, politically active. Fond of travel. Tired of talking to my cat. Seeks loving female companion. Nationality/race unimportant. Box 102.

● **Beautiful Filipino ladies, 16-30, seek considerate, intelligent gentlemen for correspondence leading to possible marriage. Contact Eastern Promise Introductions, 112 Ivanhoe Street, Dudley, DY2 0YD. Telephone 0384 241885.**

● **Young guy** seeks similar, Nth Staff. Box 103.

● **Divorced man,** attractive 39, graduate social sciences, own home. Interested books, politics. Seeks intelligent, sincere woman (25-40), for possible permanent relationship. Children welcome. S. West. Box 104.

M·T POCKETS

● **Hammer and sickle jumpers.** Black lambswool with red motif. Loose fitting. S.M.L. £24.99 plus £1.50 p+p. Jill Setterington, Software Knitted Garments, 6 Ashville View, Leeds, LS6 1LT. Tel: 0532 788837.

● **Eat The Rich T-shirts,** £5.99 inc., Red/White, c/o 176 Victoria Park Rd, London E9.

● **tHAtcHA.** This joke is killing us. Big black T-shirts. £5 inc p/p. Marston, Little Foxley, Charmouth, Dorset.

M·T PLAYGROUND

The party agenda should include cocktails, and whether James Brown really does sound better on Compact Disc. Why not share your enjoyment of the good life with other afficianados?

● **BAD . . .** funk nights in The Sanctuary at Heaven on Friday nights. Only £3. M.T. club-goers, mainly gay but mixed.

● **Bennets,** Glassford Street, Glasgow. Gay, but gallus.

● **Brittania Leisure Centre,** Hackney for weightlifting and bodybuilding. Marxism Today readers stretch more than their minds. Join us there.

THERAPY

● ***Transpersonal Counselling*** through imaging, dreamwork, personal creativity. Sliding scale. Jonathan Wood. 01-609 3657.

● **Therapy:** Psycho-politics? Psycho-analysis study group. Central London. Box T001.

● **Gestalt psychotherapy** group starting October, North London. Contact Mick Ellis 01-263 4778.

HOLIDAYS

● **Mountains Southern Spain.** Explore glorious countryside and moorish towns on bike, horse, minibus, train. Relax at converted watermill with pool. Molina del Santo, 29 Lordswood W Road, Southampton. 0703 768851.

● **Journey Latin America** Low cost flights, holiday journeys, 3-6 weeks. JLA, 16 Devonshire Road, London W4 2HD. 01-747 3108.

● **Brighton.** Send S.A.E. for weekend activities programme and details of ideal conference/meeting place. Sleeps 17+ Cheap and cheerful with all facilities. TOAL-Con, 39 St Aubyns, Hove, BN3 2TH (0273) 24739.

● **Nepal & Tibet** Trekking adventures led by Sherpa Co-operative, for individuals, families, mixed or women's groups. SAE Adventure Trekking, 40 Queens Park Court, Edinburgh, EH8 7DX.

● **Women's Group Treks in Nepal.** Departures October, Xmas. SAE for details and 1988 Programme: Adventure Trekking, 40 Queens Park Court, Edinburgh, EH8 7DX.

● **Russia for photographers.** Specially arranged economy tours of Moscow and Leningrad with experienced guides. October and March. Photographers' Russia, c/o Russian Dept, Queen Mary College, London E1 4NF.

M.T. HOMES

● **Interested in non-violence,** meditation, simple living, feminism? Mixed community seeks new members. Write to: Enquirers Secretary, Some Friends Community, Bethnal Green Road, London E2 6DG.

● **Clays Lane** is a large, multi-racial, single person housing co-op looking for new members. Welcome gays, heteros, lesbians and all creeds. Write: membership Secretary c/o 11, Taylor Court, Clays Lane Housing Co-op, Clays Lane, Stratford, London E15 2EL, including S.A.E.

M·T HANDS

● **Socialist solicitor** can provide range of legal services at fair rate for his labour. Lloyd Tucker. Nottingham (0602) 256532/297463.

● **The Typing Pool** – a woman's co-operative. Professional low cost typing of articles, thesis, letters etc, from script or tape. Translation and typing of French, German, Spanish and Italian. Central London. Tel: 01-837 1489.

● **Buzz Builders** (common ownership Co.). General building repairs. We specialise in loft and studio conversions. Business number now 01 274 3586.

● **Word-processing for writers.** Fast – professional. £2.50 per 1000 words. Business services also. Tel: 0202 37743 (24 hrs).

● **Lake Colours Painting,** decorating. Caring professional attitude. 01-737 5510.

● **London area.** James Fox . . . we clean carpets, three piece suites and curtains in your home, office or shop & c. Tel 01-686 0702.

● **WOMEN'S** carpentry/furniture making co-op. Free estimates, Room Four Ltd 01 349 7277.

M·T BOOKSHELVES

The essential booksellers guide.

● **Hammersmith Books** Famous for out-of-print books. Over 100,000 titles from left to right. A worldwide mail order service since 1948. And we buy your old books. 01-876 7254 (24 hrs). Barnes High St, London SW13 9LR.

● **Collets International Shop,** 129-131 Charing Cross Rd, London WC2H 0EQ. Tel: 01-734 0782/3.
British books, journals and pamphlets: fiction, languages (incl. EFL), politics, economics, social sciences, labour, trade union and peace movement. Literature, teaching aids, travel, art books, sheet music and records from the USSR and Eastern Europe. Folk records and songbooks. Political posters, badges, cards and T-Shirts.

● ***Collets Penguin Bookshop,*** 64-66 Charing Cross Rd, London WC2H 0BD. Tel: 01-836 6306. Most Penguins, Pelicans in print. Secondhand section. Social science, reference, travel, cookery books, the best of modern fiction from other publishers.

● **Collets Chinese Bookshop,** 40 Great Russell Street, London WC1B 3PJ. Tel: 01-580 7538.
Books in Chinese and English from and about China. Chinese language aids. Oriental art books. Traditional Chinese embroideries, antiques, prints, jewellery, porcelain and embroideries.

● **Bookmarks,** 265 Seven Sisters Rd, N4. North London's leading socialist bookshop. Two floors of good books and pamphlets.

● **Central Books,** 37 Grays Inn Road, WC1. Large selection of books on Marxism, Feminism, Third World, Industrial Relations, Politics, Fiction. Also a selection of second-hand books, posters, cards, badges and a mail-order service. Tel: 01-242 6166.

TO MAKE IT EASIER TO PAY MT NOW ACCEPTS . . .

VISA Access

complete the relevant details when you write out your advertisement.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

● **Books on Socialism** and labour movement. 2nd hand list available for s.a.e. from Northern Herald Books, c/o 6 Edmund St., Bradford 5.

● **For a list** of radical bookshops in Britain send s.a.e. to: **Federation of Radical Booksellers,** c/o Housmans, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N1 9DX.

● **Key Books, Birmingham,** 25 Essex Street, B5 4TR. Tel: 021 692 1765. Marxism, feminism, third world, black studies, non racist/sexist children's books, magazines. Mon-Sat 10.00-5.30. Moving in July to 136 Digbeth, B5 6DR, tel: 021 643 8081. Grand opening postponed until September.

● **In Other Words.** The Southwest's Alternative Community Bookshop, 72 Mutley Plain, Plymouth, PL4 6BF. Tel: 0752 663889.

● **Economists' Bookshop.** Academic books, mint condition, ridiculous prices, ask for our remainders catalogue. Tel: 01-405 8643.

PUBLICATIONS

● **Radical Scotland.** Scotland's top political magazine, bi-monthly. 70p. 40pp. Socialism; radicalism; Home Rule. Annual subscriptions £5.40. From 48 The Pleasance, Edinburgh, EH8 9TJ.

PUBLISHERS

● **Socialist Publisher.** Cheap, professional publishing service. Author-financed booklets (poetry, political pamphlets, etc.) to a high quality. Coventry 23128.

● **Key Books, Birmingham,** 25 Essex Street, B5 4TR. Tel: 021 692 1765. Marxism, feminism, third world, black studies, non racist/sexist children's books, magazines. Mon-Sat 10.00-5.30. Moving in July to 136 Digbeth, B5 6DR, tel: 021 643 8081. Grand opening postponed until September.

WAR AGAINST WAR!

Ernst Friedrich

This collection of Photographs reveals the atrocities and after-effects of World War I, juxtaposing them against the military rhetoric which romanticised the realities of war. An anti-war/peace classic.

Journeyman/215 illus/272pp
£6.95

FITNESS

● **Bodybuilding.** The psychological benefits can outweigh the physical ones. Generate confidence and a sense of physical control. Stretch yourself. Its for everyone. We offer home courses for all ages and both sexes; including full fitness programmes with exercise diagrams – one, two or three month courses available. Send cheque or postal order for £5, £6 or £7 respectively, plus 50p postage to MRC Fitness Studio Ltd. 83 New Street, Dalry, Ayrshire, KA24 5BY.

● **Deep therapeutic** massage for backache/sports conditioning, N. London. Tel: 01-263 0280.

SURVIVE THE STREETS

Effective Self-Defence for Gentle People

CALL PETER 01-223 6497

MARXISM TODAY EVENTS

After the election a Marxism Today event is just the thing for your town, college or workplace. Start planning one now for the Autumn. For help and advice contact Marxism Today (Events) 16 St John Street, London EC1M 4AY. Same address if you want to be put in touch with your nearest readers group.

● **Glasgow** Marxism Today Discussion Group meetings held on regular basis. Further details: Charlie McInally, 147 Churchill Drive, Broomhill, Glasgow. G11. Tel: (041) 339 4422.

● **South Croydon:** Marxism Today recently formed. For details, phone Glenn (01) 680 0072.

● **Birmingham:** Britain's second city is now preparing for its second Left Unlimited style event. To be held on Saturday October 17th, help is particularly needed with organising workshops and debates. Like to make the big time? Contact Brum Unlimited, 25 Essex St Birmingham 5. Tel: (021) 692 1765.

● **North London:** Women-only Marxism Today Readers Group. Contact Sioned on 01 965 7482 or 01 609 4218.

● **Plymouth:** Marxism Today's left Unlimited in early 1988. If you would like to help contact Nick Hubbard, Pillaton Cottage, Pillaton, Cornwall. Tel: (0579) 50074.

● **Manchester, Greater Manchester:** Marxism Today's Women Alive. To be held in the Salford area in the Autumn. Ideas and help most welcome. Please do get in touch with Jane, 1 Torbay Rd, Chorlton, Manchester. Tel: (061) 861 0985.

● **Teeside:** New group recently formed, for details of forthcoming activities contact: Andy Croft, 13 Emerson Avenue, Middlesborough, Cleveland TS5 7QW.

● **St Albans.** Gramsci Today, an event organised by St Albans Communist Party in association with Marxism Today, on Saturday October 31, at St Albans Town Hall. Further details from Sid Foggerty, 364 London Rd, St Albans, Tel: (0727) 23677.

● **Southwark:** Marxism Today Discussion Group recently formed. Meetings will commence in Autumn. For details contact Mark Morgan, 59 Rusholme Grove, Dulwich Wood Avenue, London SE19. Tel: (01) 670 4447.

LASSO design typesetting artwork printing

L A S S O
Women's Co-operative (TU)
86-100 St Pancras Way, London NW1
☎ 267 1284 for quotes.
Send s.a.e. for new font list.

CYCLES

● **Mosquito Bikes.** For sales, spares and fast repairs; and very friendly staff. A workers co-operative, no less. Phone 01-249 7915.

M·T SUITCASES

● **Women's moves.** Reliable, friendly, professional moves. Free quotes: 01-733 3519 or 400 8446.

DELIVERANCE LTD
REMOVALS/STORAGE
LONDON, UK, EUROPE
FREE ESTIMATES
PART LOADS, TEA CHESTS
231 7462
ACCESS, BARCLAY CARDS

EATING OUT

● **Jacaranda Gardens,** Brixton, SW9. Second on the left from Brixton tube. Vegetarian specialities. Upstairs for functions.

MISCELLANEOUS

● **Left wing pamphlets** and periodicals bought for cash. Also interested in buying libraries of left wing material. Ring 01-439 2059.

M·T POSITIONS

Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign
23 Bevenden Street, London N1 6BH

FUNDRAISER

Required by the Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign to organise and co-ordinate its fundraising. Some previous experience in fundraising strategies including marketing, sponsored and cultural event promotion and volunteer co-ordination essential. Starting September.

Salary £8,500 pa (under review).

For a full job description and application form please write to **Personnel, NSC, 23 Bevenden St, London N1 6BH.**

Closing date 31 August

NSC strives to be an Equal Opportunities employer and will treat all applications accordingly.

CONFERENCES

● **Need a venue** for your meeting/conference? Special rates for charities/educational groups. Comprehensive, economical facilities in WC1. Meeting rooms, catering and bars, audio-visual. Contact Amanda Rumley, University of London union, Malet Street, London WC1. 01-580 9551.

● **Realism in the Human Sciences. 6-9 September.** Conference at Sussex University. Topics include natural and social laws, explanations of women's oppression, explanations in space and time, realism and psychology, culture and political economy. Contact William Outhwaite 0273 606755.

COURSES

● **New Graduate Opportunities at Bristol.** The Faculty of Social Sciences is offering a new Masters and Diploma in **Gender and Social Policy,** commencing October 1988. The course is full-time over one year or part-time over two and involves three seminar courses over two terms, plus a short dissertation for M.Sc. candidates. Applications are especially invited from mature students with some experience of or interest in equal opportunities, women's development, training, and education, family and health policies. Details available from Ann Warren-Cox, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Bristol, Bristol, BS8 1TH, England.

● **Psychopolitics For Socialists:** Marxist perspective on social oppression and individual repression. Ten Friday evenings. London course, starting September. Send s.a.e. for prospectus: Nigel Collingwood, 67 Heights Road, Upton, Poole, Dorset. (0202) 622869.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GRADUATE STUDIES IN POLITICS
University of Essex
Department of Government

This leading department offers ten **MA schemes** to graduates (and to mature applicants with exceptionally strong backgrounds). The MA schemes involve courses, examinations and a short thesis during a twelve month sequence.

The scheme offered for 1987-88:

1) Political Behaviour
2) Political Theory
3) Ideology & Discourse Analysis
4) Political Economy
5) Latin American Government & Politics
6) Contemporary Japan
7) Soviet Government & Politics
8) Western European Politics
9) US Government & Politics
10) British Government & Politics

The Department welcomes applications for the **MPhil and PhD programmes** (research training and thesis) from graduates with an MA or an excellent BA degree.

A staff of over 20, some 30 MA and 20 resident PhD candidates each session make a lively graduate atmosphere. Library, computing etc. support is excellent. Details concerning full-time, as well as part-time studies, and application forms from: The Graduate Secretary (MT), Department of Government, University of Essex, Colchester, CO4 3SQ, Essex, England.

LAW IN ITS SOCIAL CONTEXT
Postgraduate CNAA Diploma in Socio-Legal Studies

2 years part-time, 2 evenings a week

A multi-disciplinary course containing core studies in Race and the Law, Sociology of Law, Legal Theory and the Emergence of the Modern State and a range of options on current socio-legal issues.

Socio-legal Certificate

One year, one evening a week. Study ONE of the following themes: **OFFENDERS and the LAW; POVERTY and the LAW; WOMEN and the LAW.**

For further details, contact: School of Law and Social Science, Ealing College of Higher Education, (Room 334), ST. Mary's Road, Ealing W5 5RF or telephone 01-579 4111 etx. 3369

LONDON EHE Ealing College of Higher Education

Interested in

Studying Trade Unionism?

Now you can develop your understanding as an active trade unionist, or seek out employment within the trade union and labour movement, via higher education.

Middlesex Polytechnic has mixed mode one-year full-time or two-year part-time courses, validated by CNAA, which will help you learn more about workers' rights, pay, collective bargaining and employment law, and provide political and economic studies of modern Britain.

If you want to know more write or telephone for our brochure:

PART-TIME 2 EVENINGS or 2 DAYS A WEEK

Certificate in Industrial Relations and Trade Union Studies

Post to: Admissions Enquiries C328F Middlesex Polytechnic, 114 Chase Side, London N14 5PN, or telephone 01-886 6599 (24 hours).

Please send me further information on the Certificate in Industrial Relations and Trade Union Studies.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

Middlesex Polytechnic

Finger prints
PRINTING CO-OPERATIVE

The small team that produces big results.

☎ Cardiff 482582

Tŷ Penderyn, Pen-y-Wain Lane, Roath, Cardiff, S. Wales

GRASS ROOTS BOOKS
of manchester limited
1 newton street
piccadilly, manchester
m1 1hw tel 061 236 3112

MANCHESTER'S RADICAL BOOKSHOP

Access down a flight of stairs – help available

Bookmarks
★★★★★

New titles Summer 1987

REVOLUTIONARY REHEARSALS
edited by Colin Barker
Five times in the past 20 years the working class has risen to challenge the ruling order: the events of May 1968 in France, during the Popular Unity of Chile 1972-3, the Portuguese revolution of 1974-5, the overthrow of the Shah of Iran in 1979, and the rise of Solidarity in Poland in 1980. *272 pages. £4.95*

LENIN'S MOSCOW
by Alfred Rosmer
A classic account of political life in Russia from the founding of the Communist International in 1919 — to whose first congress Rosmer was a delegate — to the death of Lenin early in 1924, when Moscow was truly 'the centre of world revolution'. *288 pages. £4.95*

THE FUTURE SOCIALIST SOCIETY
by John Molyneux
What will life be like in a socialist society? How would socialism give us more control over our lives and solve the glaring inequalities of the world today? If we are to convince people that socialism offers a solution for mankind, then we must answer these questions — and not by referring to the false socialism of Eastern Europe. *40 pages. 95p*

WHY HALF THE WORLD GOES HUNGRY
by Nigel Harris
The facts of world hunger are too well known to need repeating: The question is WHY? This pamphlet shows how famine is an intrinsic part of a world economic system which sees food as a 'commodity', a system which must be abolished if the hungry are to be fed. *40 pages. 85p*

HUNGER ★ MOSCOW 1919 ★ SOCIALISM

All available from left bookshops or by post from Bookmarks (add 15 per cent to cover postage)

Bookmarks
265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4 2DE.

Fancy a job in the media?

Marxism Today offers invaluable experience, practical skills and references in the following:

- circulation promotions,
- press and public relations,
- advertising strategy,
- indexing and research
- magazine production

Apply in writing for volunteer pack to Personnel Officer, MT, 16 St John Street, London EC1M 4AY.

CLASSIFIED RATES

- Lineage: 50p per word, except where otherwise stated.
- Semi-display: £7 per column centimetre

Add 15% VAT to all total prices.

Deadline for September issue: 14th of August 1987.

Further Enquiries and late copy: telephone Malcolm 01-608 0265. Box Number entries and replies are strictly confidential. Mark entries 'M.T. Hearts' and replies with the appropriate Box No. on the envelope. Please enclose a stamp for postage costs.

STUDENT AGENTS

Marxism Today is launching a network of subscription agents in colleges. Each agent will be issued with a selection of promotional materials together with an information pack.

All YOU need to do is to distribute these materials and you will receive a FEE for each new subscription we receive from your college.

WHAT COULD BE EASIER AND MORE LUCRATIVE?

For more information return this form (no stamp needed) to: Marxism Today Agents, FREEPOST, 16 St John Street, London EC1R 1JB
OR Phone Mark Perryman on (01) 608 0265

Name_____

Address_____

_____

_____

Telephone_____

College_____

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rupert Murdoch

Since the beginning of July, Rupert Murdoch has owned five British newspapers. He bought the *News of the World* and *The Sun*, separately, during 1969, turning them into complementary publications; *The Times* and the *Sunday Times* were purchased in a single deal in January 1981. The acquisition of *Today* gave him a nap hand.

Superficially, it hardly seems a predatory record, given the near 20-year timespan. Considered in the context both of Murdoch's burgeoning international media interests, and of the overall state of the British press, it is enormously disheartening.

This feeling was only reinforced by Murdoch's immediate moves on taking control of *Today*. He appointed one of his existing editors, David Montgomery from the *News of the World*, as the paper's new editor; and replaced him with Wendy Henry, who thus became the first woman editor of a national paper in modern times.

'*Today* was purchased partly to provide increased printing capacity (including access to colour presses); but mostly to put the squeeze on Robert Maxwell'

Rarely can there have been a more obvious case of a proprietor sending the wrong signals to his staff. Henry was best-known for having published a fabricated interview with the widow of a Falklands VC hero, an incident that was notoriously distasteful even by contemporary Fleet Street standards. Montgomery's grasp of journalistic ethics seems equally uncertain – at least to judge from some passages of testimony in the Jeffrey Archer libel case. ('Can we talk off the record, David?' 'Absolutely.') All this must have been known to News International (NI) management prior to his new appointment.

At another time, the notion that such professional misconduct might be fulsomely rewarded would have seemed preposterous, an *Erehwon*-like distortion of recognised patterns of behaviour. Such is the turpitude of the popular press today, it barely seemed worth mentioning.

Is this the state to which Rupert Murdoch has singlehandedly reduced it? There are those who would claim so. Of the papers he now owns, only the *News of the World* had previously enjoyed a salacious reputation. *The Sun*, indeed, was the old *Daily Herald*, the Labour Party/TUC paper. Even under Murdoch's ownership, it retained its Labour allegiance for a few years.

Murdoch may have moved more warily in those days, but in time all his newspapers came to be forged in his style – 'Murdoch's newspapers have always been Murdoch's alone', wrote Simon Jenkins. They offered mundane stories usually turning on a handful of key personalities ('Sam Fox's Parents Split' read one recent front-page *Sun* headline), a vocabulary that a 10-year-old could grasp, pin-ups, and enthusiastic support for the Conservative Party. Behind all this lay an edge of nastiness and a nauseating self-righteousness; characteristics which seemed to stem direct from Murdoch himself. Altogether, he had put together a kind of anti-journalism, in the context of which the 'wrong' signals are the right ones.

The same clinical ruthlessness is evident in his business dealings; he generally gets what he wants. Certainly, out-manoeuvring Robert Maxwell seems to present no difficulty. An interesting feature of the negotiations for the sale of *Today* was that another potential buyer, David Sullivan, the publisher of *Sunday Sport* (and the one man to have had the gall to try to out-Murdoch Murdoch) publicly commented at the outset that a deal had been stitched up between Lonrho, *Today*'s previous owners, and NI. Despite Maxwell's best endeavours, that was exactly how it turned out.

The sale was confirmed by the government without demur; there was no reference to the Monopolies Commission. Since *Today* was clearly not commercially viable at the time of its sale, this was understandable. As Jonathan Aitken pointed out in the House of Commons debate, the real scandal in this respect was the failure of the Thatcher administration, six years earlier, to refer to the Monopolies Commission the purchase of *The Times*, which occupied a unique position in the socio-cultural fabric of the country, and the *Sunday Times*, which clearly was a going concern. No point, though, in continuing to cry about that; having been changed beyond recognition in the interim, the papers could not now be restored.

So, in return for the uncritical support of his publications, the government seems to have given Murdoch the green light whenever he needed it. Nor was this the only help that he received from that direction. The trade union legislation of the 80s enabled him to move his publications to Wapping, ousting the print unions in the process, and accumulate super-profits from sales of *The Sun* and the *News of the World*.

Film and television were fields in which he was plainly interested. He acquired Twentieth-Century Fox, and the studio almost immediately presented him with a box-office smash – The Fly; and his determination to move into television explained the relentless hostility with which his publications pursued the BBC.

Today had tried, albeit unsuccessfully, to stand in opposition to the kind of journalism purveyed by NI. At the outset, it offered decency; at the end, support for the Alliance. But it was only ever a puny business. Given Murdoch's various worldwide interests, why on earth was he interested in it?

Frank Spooner Pictures

Murdoch: anti journalistic

Most UK commentators made the mistake of thinking that he wanted to move into the middle market. But he had one paper occupying this ground already: *The Times*. (Compare the length of news stories in *The Times* of today with those in the *Daily Mail* and *Express* when they were still broadsheets, and you'll see what I mean.) *Today* was purchased partly to provide increased printing capacity (including access to colour presses); but mostly to put the squeeze on Robert Maxwell. *The Mirror* can co-exist with *The Sun*; its future would be much less certain if it were facing vigorous competition from *two* Murdoch downmarket publications. This is clearly Murdoch's strategy. As Maggie Brown noted in the *Independent*, *Today* plunged downmarket the moment it was absorbed into the NI stable. Margaret Thatcher sees it as part of her mission to banish socialism from the political scene in this country; Rupert Murdoch sees it as part of his to banish the last vestiges of socialism from the newspaper industry. ●

Bob Woffinden

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ancient Russian Cities

2 weeks tour from 14th August to Vladimir and Suzdal combined with 3 days each in Moscow and Leningrad. £415.

Moscow, Novgorod, and Leningrad

5th-25th August. £375

October Half-Term

7 days in Moscow and Leningrad 24th-31st October. £315.

November Celebrations

70th Anniversary of Soviet Revolution. 1st-8th November and other dates. From £265.

Xmas and New Year

Moscow , Novgorod and Leningrad. 8 days from £275

Russian Language

Year-round programme of one and three-month courses in the USSR; Moscow from 10th-31st August; Moscow and Leningrad 25th August-23rd September; Moscow 15th November-14th December; Leningrad 18th December-10th January.

Havana and Pinar del Rio for 16 days departing 29th November, plus programme of study and holiday tours. Special tours and study courses for groups (min. ten) and free-ranging individual travel available at any time.

Trip to the great left festival in Paris with an optional visit to a Champagne cellar in Rheims. 11th to 14th September by coach; £74. Unlimited access to festival.

We specialise in organising group study tours and holidays with a purpose for student, labour movement or school groups, particularly to the USSR and Eastern Europe, Algeria, France, Italy and Cuba. Phone or write to Landon Temple for details.

12 Porchester Place, Marble Arch,
London W2 2BS
Telephone 01-262 1676. Telex 25135.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
Outfitters

1 2 3

4 5 6

Photography: Abel Lagos

1
The 1936 Aidez l'Espagne anti-fascist pamphlet design by Miro.

2
The Italian T-shirt. A reconstructed hammer and sickle design in green, red and black.

3
The Gramsci T-shirt. A triple-bloc image in pastel pink, blue and green.

4
The Nicaraguan T-shirt. Part proceeds to Ricardo Morales Aviles School in Nicaragua.

5
The Gorbachev T-shirt. The ultimate democratic fashion accessory . . . In black and red for the revolutionary and pink and grey for the realigned.

6
The Forward March of the Proletariat in full-colour.

Shirts from the mere large, via the XL to the incredibly roomy XXXL.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OUTFITTERS CLOTHING FOR AUTONOMY

Item	Size/Colour	Price	Qty	Total
1 Miro T-shirt	L/XL* XXXL	£5.50 £6.50		
2 Italian T-shirt	L/XL* XXXL	£5.50 £6.50		
3 Gramsci T-shirt	L/XL/XXXL*	£6.50		
4 Nicaraguan T-shirt	L/XL/XXXL*	£6.50		
5 Gorbachev T-shirt	L/XL/XXXL* Red/pink*	£5.95		
6 Proletarian T-shirt	L/XL* XXXL	£5.50 £6.50		
			Goods Total	
			p&p 10% (overseas 20%)	
			Grand Total	

*Delete as appropriate.

Send to C.C.O. (Dept MT2), FREEPOST, 16 St John Street, London EC1R 1JB.
Cheques payable to C.C.O. (Central Cttee Outfitters)

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Postcode _____

Access/Visa _____

Signature _____

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED